Studies in Sindi society the anthropology of selected Sindi communities

Siddiqi, A. H. A.

Studies in Sindi Society.

The Anthropology of Selected Sindi Communities.

Summary.

The purpose of this thesis is to accept the fact that there is a territory called Sind which has possessed and still possesses a regional identity and then to examine the nature of society within it. The emphasis throughout is on social and cultural characteristics related as far as possible to the various forces affecting them and operating within them, a field of study lying between Social Geography and Social Anthropology.

Within Sind there exist diversities of religion, of occupation and economy but overriding these there has been until recently an undisputed social and cultural unity manifesting itself in language, folk customs, mysticism and a class/caste division of society. This unity has been associated with a subsistence orientated agricultural economy in which family and kinship have aided survival in a harsh arid environment.

Sind has been a region peripheral to the mainstream of Asian change and regional and social unity remained undisturbed for centuries.

Two phenomena have recently disturbed this traditional continuity, first the effects of partition of All-India and secondly urbanization in the developing state of Pakistan. The question remains whether traditional rural - based unity will remain dominant or whether a new hybrid culture will appear.

STUDIES IN SINDI SOCIETY

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF SELECTED SINDI COMMUNITIES

THESIS PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF M.A.

BY

A.H.A. SIDDIQI

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

ENGLAND.

MAY, 1968.

LIST OF PLATES

LIST OF APPENDIX

LIST OF CONTENTS

LIST OF MAPS

In this thesis an attempt is made to analyse the elements of this situation mainly through the presentation of systematic studies of social and economic life and then to show how these elements are balanced in the whole. The elements and forces involved are of great variety. Within the community one must consider the broad groupings of social organisation as they occur in this particular region (which above all is physically characterised by aridity). There are also the facts of caste, a system which does not only permeate the Hindu sector, and the effects, through time, of historical power struggles not only between dynasties but between peoples and cultures.

In Section I are examined the basic physical characteristics of the region which with little variation have characterised Sind for some four millennia. The characteristics of physical environment are clear and powerful in their influencing both of traditional and modern ways of life. Resources and locational characteristics have not only directly controlled many aspects of rural culture but also have affected many other elements such as contacts with neighbouring regions, routeways, urbanization etc.

Sub-regional differences such as those between the central riverine tracts, the eastern sand deserts and the barren hill badlands are examined. From this examination of physical environment one may then proceed to look at the most significant elements in the history of Sind including a brief survey of the ethnic and cultural and political changes. In Section II the economic organisation of Sind life with particular

emphasis on occupational characteristics is studied. Much of the continuity of Sindi life in the past derived from the overwhelming predominence of rural economies which although functionally varied and with sub-regional differences all had one unifying trait of cultural conservatism.

With the acceleration of urbanization and the broadening of occupational opportunity have come changing social as well as economic values.

Economic diversification, so far as this has proceeded, has weakened the traditional cultural unity and it is to an examination of traditional and transitional social organisation to which we then turn.

Section III is devoted to an examination of the most important elements of social organisation viz., the family, kinship, religion, recreation, food, disease, settlement, communications etc. Traditionally the family occupied a central place in the organisation of the community. Now as migration to towns proceed apace, the family is weakened, the decentralised nature of village life is increasingly replaced by central authority based on the large towns and the whole matrix of the society is apparently endangered. The question arises as to whether these new forces which seem to encourage urban uniformity will destroy the long surviving traditional unity in diversity of Sind.

Religion itself is indissolubly linked with other elements in the life of Sind. There are

fundamental differences between Hindus and Muslims. The former believe in the existence of many deities, the latter in one God only. Hindus believe in the transmigration of soul and Muslims do not. Nevertheless in spite of there being these and other fundamental doctrinal differences in Sind there is much common ground between the devotees of both faiths. There is general mysticism, the importance of priesthood, beliefs in some mystical properties etc., many common elements derived from the near and remote past which make the doctrinal differences between Hindus and Muslims less important to village life than factionalism which reflects many cross currents of kinship, caste, religion and other elements.

In conclusion, the thesis attempts to draw together the various elements which have been analysed. The most significant fact would appear to be that from many ethnic strains and cultural and religious legacies traditional Sind developed.

For all the diversity of all the elements in its composition the Sindi community has survived in distinct and recognizable form in its particular homeland.

Now as the environment itself is effectively changed by new attitudes and these new social and economic values appear, Sind and the Sindis themselves may be losing their old identity. The question remains; will a new identity emerge or will the Sindi community linger on only in isolated and remote villages as a kind of cultural museum piece?

This thesis is based on documentary material and on personal investigation carried out by the writer between 1962 and 1964. During this period the writer visited all the main settlements in Sind and carried out interviews in over 100 villages. Personal and family experience has also been drawn upon. In the rural areas records were made of verbal information given to the writer concerning the social structure and customs observed and practised. From these records have been drawn the statements which follow. The sources have not been quoted in detail because this would merely mean listing names of individuals and groups but whenever relevant the place of observation is noted.

Acknowledgement

I am extremely grateful to my supervisor, Professor H. Bowen-Jones for his sincere and kind help during the preparation of this thesis and also to Dr. E. Sunderland, Senior Lecturer in the Anthropology Department for his assistance on various occasions. I also acknowledge the help of the technical staff of the Geography Department.

SECTION I

The Land of Sind and its History

across the "grain" of the Country difficult and expensive. Flood inundation has been historically normal particularly in the eastern part of Thatta. Only in recent years has any degree of control of the flow of the Indus been achieved as a result of the installation of multi-purpose irrigation, hydro-electric and flood-control works notably in the Punjab.

At Sukkur the average annual water discharge of the Indus is over 5 million cubic feet and the transported sediment has been estimated at over 10,000 million cubic feet. Since late tertiary times this great silt load has been deposited in a zone now lying between the East Nara and the main Indus channel in the modern districts of Hyderabad, Nawabshah and western Sanghar. As a result of the many changes in river alignement this central low land is in fact broken up into low doabs and intervening relict channels.

To the west of the present main Indus the Kirthar mountains descend through the tertiary Kohistan hills to the edge of the plain and here the topographical limit is clear and well defined. The cultural water-shed however lies further to the west in the rugged negative area between the Indus and Baluchistan. The main limestone ranges of Kirthar averaging over 5,000 feet in height have proved major obstacles to almost all traffic and in this lightly populated zone the lower hills are naturally orientated towards the Indus valley.

To the east the great Thar desert stretching 500 miles north-westward from the barren saline mudflats of the Rann of Cutch through sand dunes and bare

Jacobabad has recorded a temperature maximum of 126° F, almost a world record. In this season the potential evaporation and transpiration are at an annual rate of over 300 inches per annum. At night rapid radiation through clear air can produce a daily temperature range of about 40°F although this is only at its most extreme in open country. In the towns the temperature rarely falls below 100°F. Between November and February the humidity and cloudiness decreases after the monsoon period and with clear air and rapid radiation in January night minimum temperature falls below freezing in northern Sind, the ameliorating effects of the sea decreasing inland from the coast. Considerable variations are observable in different parts of the region the higher land of Kohistan having the more severe conditions.

All in all the climate of Sind very severely affects human activity and one has some sympathy with the Hindu myth that it is the fault of the Demon King of Multan who pulled down Megha Raja, the cloud god, from Heaven and would not release him unless he promised not to visit Sind. More scientifically we can note that using de Mantonne's Aridity Indices, the whole of Sind falls in Zone IV - Arid.

Soil and vegetation naturally reflect in their distribution the climate, morphology and hydrology of Sind (Map 4). The soil types basically reflect the material from which they are derived although their overriding characteristic, that of alkalinity and richness in soluble salts, is a result of aridity.

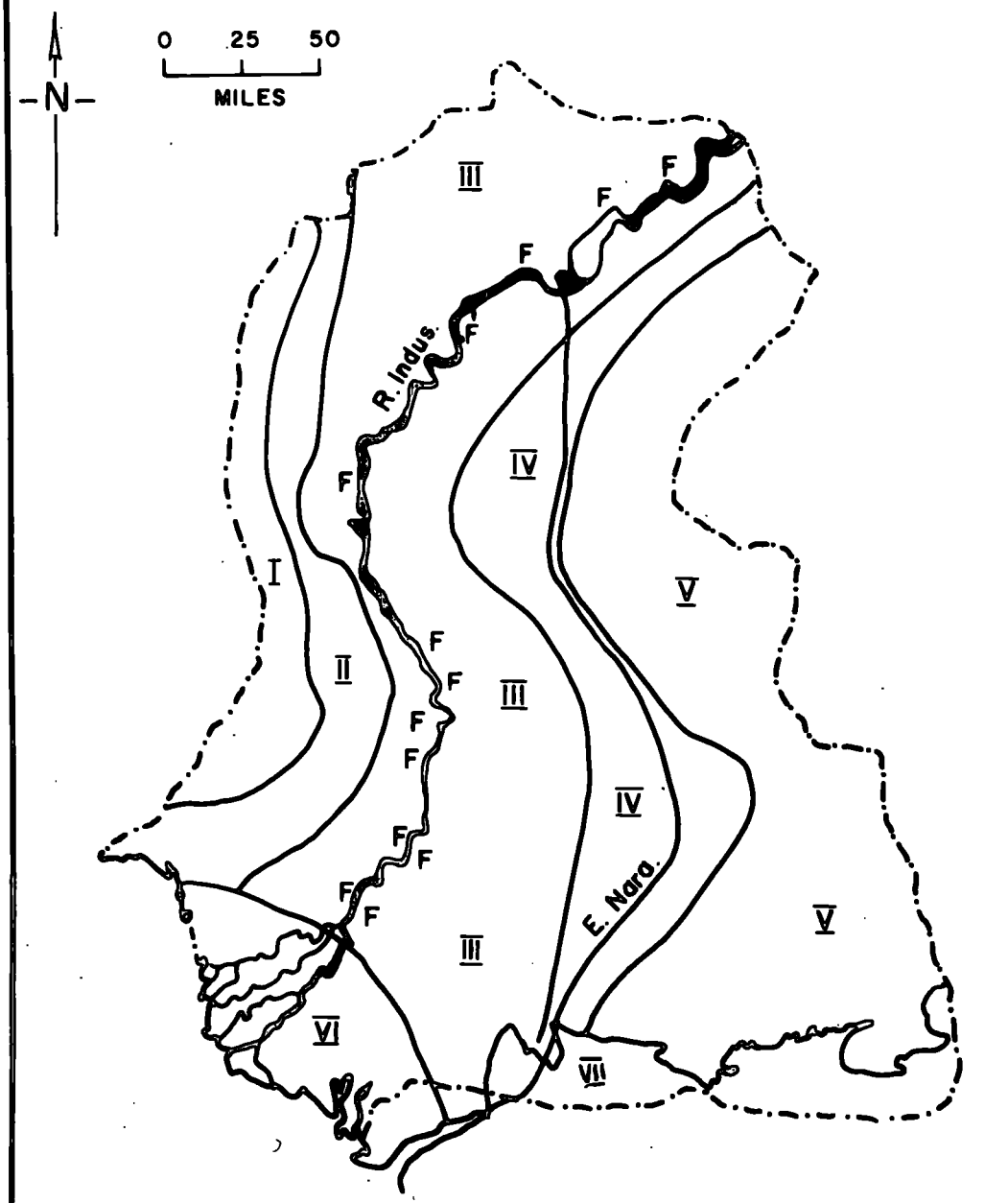
In central and eastern Sind most parental-material would seem to have been recent alluvial in type. "Wariasi" is the local term for the weak sandy sierozems grading into pure sand that are characteristic of Tharparkar. Largely water-laid even if worked over by wind, generally calcareous and free draining this soil type is regarded by local inhabitants as suitable for most types of cultivation given the availability of water and fertilizer. The other notable type of soil is "Chikki". It is the name given to rather better developed sierozem soils in Larkana.

"Kacho" includes most of the relatively high water-table silts of the central flood plain particularly in Hyderabad and northern delta. The complexity of deposition has resulted in great variation in salinity, watertable and degree of weathering.

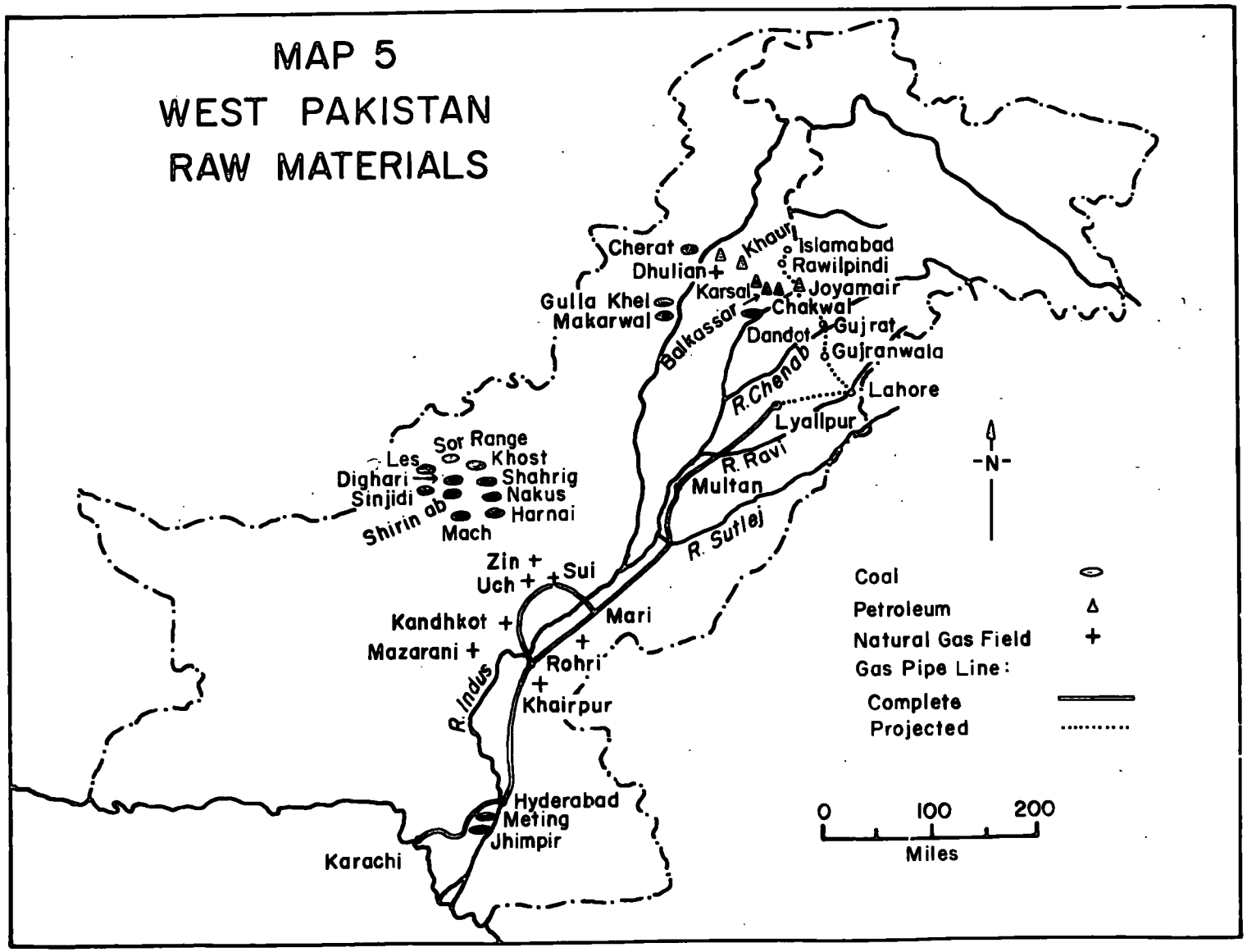
"Kalar" is the name given to solonetz and solonchak soils formed generally on high water table silts. Salts are found to excess in such areas making it uncultivable. The condition under which these soils are formed may be due both to natural and man caused forces. Flood inundation and water-logging because of bad irrigation practices when associated with regular vertical movements of the water-table can rapidly result in deterioration. In Khairpur district the Kalar soils are mainly the result of poor irrigation.

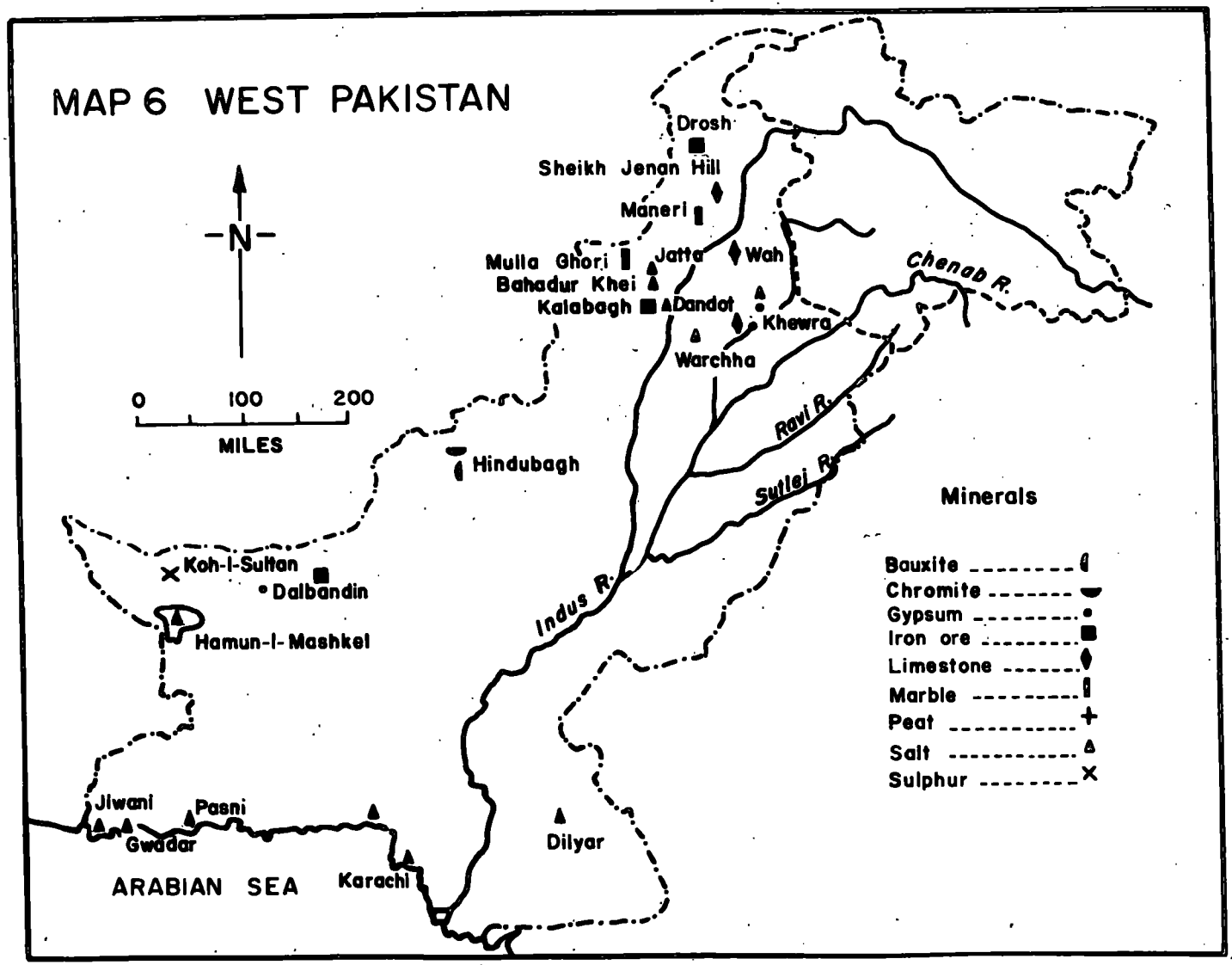
In the hill tracts of west of the Indus soils are mainly skeletal. The variations in the soil affect also the nature of the vegetation.

MAP 4 SIND — VEGETATION ZONES



F	FOREST	IV	IRRIGATED STEPPE
I	BARREN HILLS	V	SCRUB & DESERT
II	STEPPE	VI	MANGROVE
III	CULTIVATED	VII	MARSH


MAP 5
WEST PAKISTAN
RAW MATERIALS
Cherat
Khaur
Islamabad
Rawilpindi
Dhulian
Karsal
Joyamair
Gulla Khel
Makarwal
Balkassar
Chakwal
Dandot
Gujrat
Gujranwala
R. Chenab
Lahore
Lyallpur
R. Ravi
Multan
R. Sutlej
Sor Range
Les
Khost
Dighari
Shahrig
Sinjidi
Nakus
Shirin ab
Harnai
Mach
Zin
Uch
Sui
Kandhkot
Mari
Mazarani
Rohri
R. Indus
Khairpur
Hyderabad
Meting
Jhimpir
Karachi
-N-
Coal
Petroleum
Natural Gas Field
Gas Pipe Line:
Complete
Projected
0
100
200
Miles


MAP 6 WEST PAKISTAN
N
0 100 200
MILES
Drosh
Sheikh Jenan Hill
Maneri
Mulla Ghori
Bahadur Khei
Kalabagh
Jatta
Wah
Dandot
Khewra
Warchha
Chenab R.
Ravi R.
Sutlej R.
Indus R.
Hindubagh
Koh-I-Sultan
Dalbandin
Hamun-I-Mashkel
Jiwani
Pasni
Gwadar
ARABIAN SEA
Karachi
Dilyar
Minerals
Bauxite
Chromite
Gypsum
Iron ore
Limestone
Marble
Peat
Salt
Sulphur

On the bank of Indus and E. Nara, Babul, Tamarisk, Kandi tali and Thorn forest are noticeable. In the delta proper mangroves and brackish water plants predominate while thorn and acacia shrubs and cactus are the main elements in between the Eastern Nara and the Eastern boundary (Thar). In much of Kohistan there is bare badland hill country with a few patches of Xerophytic grasses (Map 4).

Resources other than that of the land for agriculture are fairly limited (Maps 5 & 6). In Thatta district at Jhimpur some deposits of coal are found. Hyderabad and Dadu have also a few deposits. Natural gas has been discovered at Rorhi, Khairpur and Mari. In the district of Tharparkar there are resources of salt. The main salt area is at Dilyar and its output is estimated two lakh maund a year (see Map 6). Silica, Gypsum and Fullers earth are available in good quantity in Dadu district and the deposits of limestone and Fullers earth are also found in Ganjo Takkar. From the Dhand (Pond) of the Lar a kind of impure sesquicarbonate of soda has been extracted.

None of these resources have in themselves been important enough to modify the absolute dominance of agriculture. Building materials and salts of various kinds have generally been worked on a small scale for local need for many years.

Far more important in all respects has been the routeway character of the lower Indus valley. At least since the Indus civilization of the second millennium B.C. the lower Indus valley has canalised contact between the western part of the Indo-Gangetic plain and the lands south, east and west across the

sea. Karachi a century ago was merely one of a number of the sea ports many which now lie abandoned in the delta. These small ports were the multifarious termini of the land routes south from Hyderabad, Khairpur and Punjab itself.

In 1758 English traders established a factory at Thatta but not until after 1843 when Sind was formally annexed to the British Empire and its link with Afghanistan severed was there any centralised commercial development.

The introduction of steam navigation (for all its hazards) on the Indus and the development of cotton led to the growth of Karachi. By 1878 the independent Sind railway was extended to connect with the Punjab system and Karachi boomed in size, in function and in wealth. At the time of independence Karachi was the obvious choice for the capital of new state of Pakistan. It is relevant to this thesis to note that this signified the relative decline of the inland cities associated with traditional Sind and the growth in importance of the new rootless market-orientated true urban centre.

Sind then is a region relatively clearly delimited by topography. Its physical characteristics very clearly limit and control human life. With the waters of the Indus man can farm and build settlements, elsewhere he must be nomadic and pastoral and as such mobile and agressive. Within the physical sub-regions there is sufficient small scale variety of soils and watertable as to lead to small scale rural separatism but there are no large scale breaks in the overall

environmental unity. The only significant historical change in the spatial relationships between Sind and neighbouring regions is the growth of Karachi simultaneously as the metropolis and the greatest intermediary between Sindi life and that of the rest of the world.

CHAPTER I

Appendix 1. Climate

Sanghar.

	Maximum mean	Minimum Mean	Average
Summer	120	88	104
Winter	62	30	46
Spring	80	70	75

Average rainfall during the year 11.32".

Hyderabad.

Summer	107.0°	78.2°	92.6°
Winter	88.8°	50.6°	69.7°
Spring	101.8°	63.8°	82.8°

Average rainfall is about 7".

Larkana.

Summer	110°	104°	107°
Winter	70°	60°	65°
Spring	90°	80°	85°

The average rainfall is generally 4 to 5".

Nawabshah.

Summer	120°	70°	95°
Winter	79°	36°	57°
Spring	105°	40°	72°

Average rainfall 5 to 7".

Appendix 1
(Cont.)

Jacobabad.

	Maximum mean	Minimum mean	Average
Summer	107.9°	81.7°	94.8°
Winter	81.2°	52.4°	66.8°
Spring	94.6°	65.6°	80.1°

Average rainfall 1 to 3".

Dadu.

Summer	112°	85°
Winter	92°	50°

Average rainfall is 4"

Sukkur.

Summer	114°	73°
Winter	85°	37°
Spring	109°	61°

The rainfall average 2 to 3".

Khairpur.

Summer	120°	
Winter		30°

Average rainfall is less than 6" in a year.

Source - Population district Census 1961 reports.

CHAPTER II

Sind in History

The earliest cultures of Sind of which we know are those of the Bronze Age. Around Lake Manchar and extending throughout the present day district of Dadu is found the Amri culture. Here, earlier than 3,000 B.C., developed sedentary settlement in mudbrick villages. The typical size of these, judging from the "tell" remnants would seem to have been about two acres, and each probably carried populations of a few hundreds. Only in few cases as at Kothras Buthi are the sign of fortifications. "There is a generalised resemblance to the village or small urban communities known throughout the ancient East in the prehistoric periods", is the comment of Stuart Piggot. Tool and pottery types suggest a close contact between the Amri culture and the Baluchi cultures to the north-west.

The most significant points to emerge from archaelogical excavation are as follows. In the first place the considerable alterations of course by the Indus are illustrated. Lake Manchar itself is normally about 8 miles wide and 10 miles in length but throughout the period of human occupation of the region it has periodically expanded as the result of inundation to two or three times its normal area. Here as elsewhere in Sind the lowest flood plains are too dangerous for permanent settlement which has to be located on higher levees and mounds. Secondly, the Kohistan hills themselves, to judge from the relative density of settlement and the representation of the flora and fauna in decoration, were considerably

more covered by vegetation at earlier times. Their present barrenness may in part be a result of a series of slight but critical decreases in rainfall but probably has been caused in the main by human action. There is no evidence of burnt brick making but other fuel needs and the effects of goat and sheep grazing were considerable.

More important in Sind is the Harappa - Mohenjo-Daro civilization. Mohenjo-Daro, the southern capital lies not far to the north of Amri.

During the heyday of the Indus civilization extending from 3,000 B.C. to 1700 B.C., there would seem to have been an avoidance of the central low-lands between the Indus and the Eastern Nara. Stuart Piggot and O.H.K. Spate both believe, in the words of the latter, that there is "evidence of a distinctly more humid climate than now prevails". Local fauna included rhinoceros, elephant and water-buffalo and the widespread use of kiln-burnt brick on an enormous scale could only have been possible if ample supplies of wood fuel were locally available.

This linked city and village civilization was connected by commerce and culture with Sumeria and western peninsular India by sea as well as with the northern kingdom of Harappa in the Punjab. We know little of the non material side of this civilization. Agriculture and urban manufacture were extensive but there is evidence in the declining architectural standards of the towns as also in the physical evidence of increasing flood damage that ecological

deterioration was becoming significant even before the destruction of the civilization by the Aryan speaking invaders from the north.

Of these incomers we know little other than that derived from the older books of the Rig Veda. The general picture centres around the figure of Indra, the Aryan war god, the fort-destroyer. The new dominant society would seem to have been relatively simple. A strong pastoral element was present at least in the early confused periods with social organisation both autarchic and class specialised. The family and the village were the basic group units, religion combining a tendency to monotheism together with a personification of a single god in many deities.

Slowly during what is known as the Vedic period, ending in the 6th century B.C., the main features of Brahmanical society emerged. Clan structure was weakened and, in all probability aided by ethnic conflict, the caste system emerged and the trade groups began to crystalize into caste. This pre-Greek and pre-Islamic period is important in that it left many cultural traits which survived later changes. In Sind tribal names particularly associated with the region appear early, the Sivas, Parsus, Kakayas, Virchirants, Yadus, Annus, Turvasas etc. Slowly however hereditary monarchies begin to appear along with the consultation councils of "Sabah" and "Samatis" in which particular heads of families had considerable standing. The first fully organised authority however appears as the result of conquest. Darius the

Great extending the Achemenion Empire in the 5th century B.C., organised Sind and Punjab into a single satrapy (which Aitkin estimates paid an annual tribute of the value of £1 million), Sind would seem to have been little affected by the Iranian conquest but this was only the first of many political and cultural incursions into the Indus basin from the north west. Then, as later, Sind, less wealthy than the Punjab and more remote from the main Indo-Gangetic lowlands, was but loosely controlled, and rapidly lapsed into independence and separatism.

This is the most significant fact of the whole following period up till the Muslim conquest in 711 A.D.

During the Greek period of the 4th century B.C., following Alexander's Conquest, Patala, an early name for Thatta, and Sindimana, the Macedonian name for Sehwan were centres for Indo-Greek administration but apart from some aesthetic legacies Sind seems to have remained little changed. The same is true during the successive conquests by the Parthians, Scythians and Huns, the last in 165 B.C.

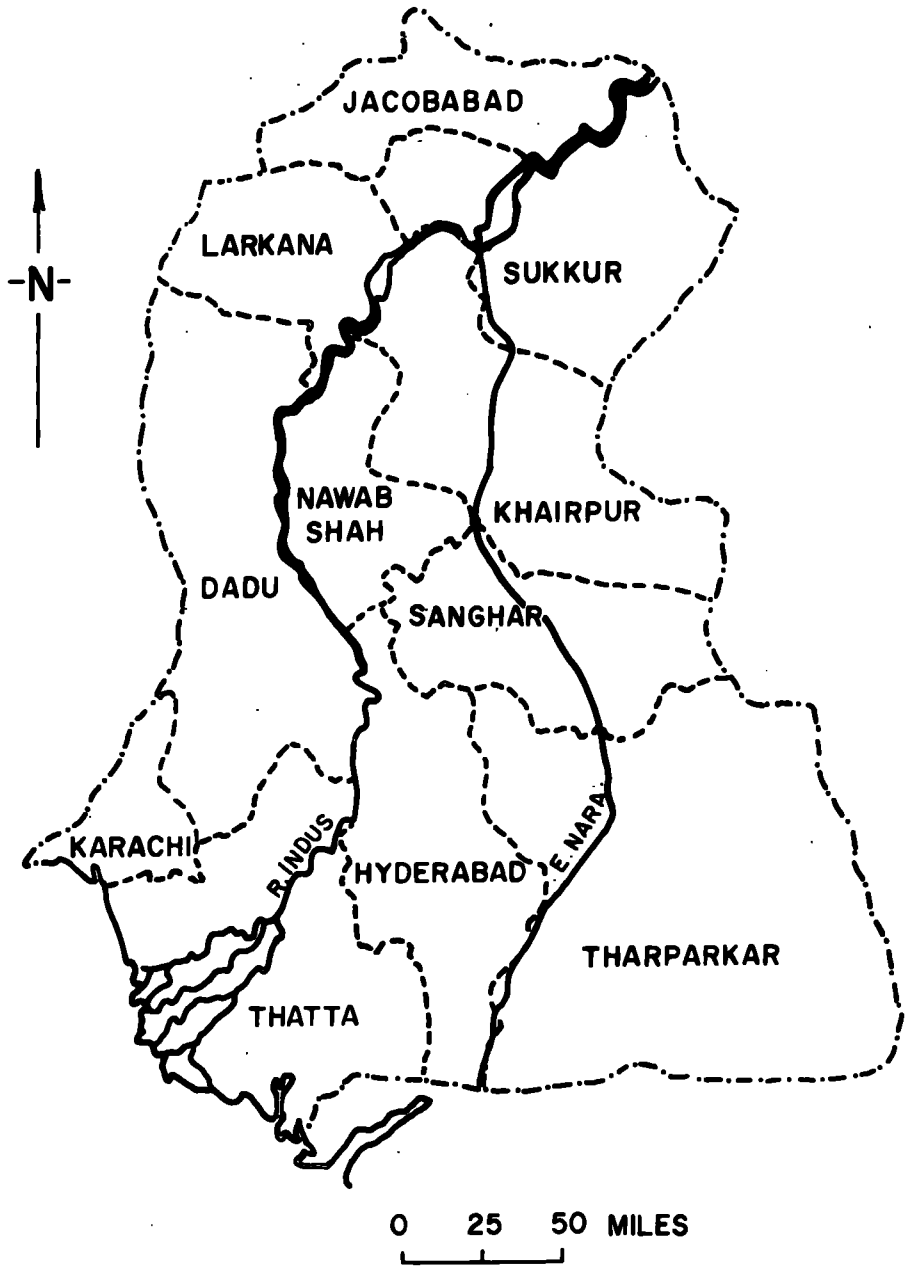
To all these conquerers from the north and the north-west Sind was peripheral and the least attractive of their conquests. As such, local and regional separatism keeps re-appearing in a series of confusing dynastic struggles. O.H.K. Spate's study of the relative permanence of frontiers in the Indian sub-continent shows how all through history Sind continually emerges not so much as a nuclear but a peripheral distinct region.

For the early centuries of the Christian era Sind remained under Rajput rule for an unusually lengthy period of stability. Between Multan and the sea and from the Thar desert into Baluchistan the whole region was ruled from Alor.

However, in the 7th century A.D., the Islamic expansion into Asia spread into southern Afghanistan and Baluchistan and Arab expeditions assailed the whole coast from Sind to Bombay. At the beginning of the 8th century Al-Hajjaji, the governor of Iraq launched a major invasion of Sind under Muhammad-Bin-Qasim, the Rajput armies were defeated near Alor in 712 A.D., and a new era commenced for the Indus valley. A new province of the Caliphate was created in a Sind which extended from Kashmeer to the sea, from Rajputana to Baluchistan. This province became virtually independent as the power of the caliphate waned and within a century and a half Sind and the Punjab had once more effectively separated. After the Ghaznavid occupation local dynasties emerged and remained dominant until the mid-sixteenth century. Under the Turco-Afghan dynasties and under the Moghuls after the death of Aurangzeb there followed the same sequence of events - a loosening of control and regrowth of petty Sindhi states. In this last period of independence the Talpur dynasty built up a state around Hyderabad city, a relatively new creation dating from 1768. This, the last indigenous Sind state, fell to British armies under Napier and the region became a province of British India attached to Bombay presidency.

Since independence there have been a similar series of vicissitudes. At first Sind was made a province of West Pakistan, and later divided into an organisation

MAP 7 SIND – ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS



finds many reference to the importance of "varna", colour or complexion. In Hindu mythology one finally finds the divine origin of the differences which have been made, the Brahmins, springing from the mouth of the deity, the Kshatriya who came from his arms, the Vaishya from his thighs and the Shudras who came from his feet. As conquered and conquerors, high status and low status occupations, dark and light, became fixed by inter-caste tabus on marriage so caste became a strict and rigid social system.

While Islam does not recognise caste as such, Muslims have recognised occupational and other differences inherent in the system. In Sind therefore caste has become an institution which to some degree affects all traditional communities.

In kinship, as in the case of cross-cousin marriages, in religion and mysticism, in social and economic organisation, as is examined in later chapters, Sind has blended Dravidian, Brahmin and Islamic cultural legacies in a remarkable way. This regional growth was fostered by the way in which the physical environment, as earlier noted, has restricted and limited human economic opportunities of diversification.

In this chapter, in conclusion one must stress the parts played by forces of political geography.

There are throughout history the forces of separatism. These forces during the period of strong rulers became passive and active during the periods of weak rulers. As we see the feeble rule of Iranians gave birth to very many petty states in Sind. Even

the forces of separatism could not be suppressed sometimes by strong rulers. Harsh was a great conqueror, the boundaries of his empire were quite large but he could not subjugate Sind permanently. For nearly 1,500 years the Indus plain almost enjoyed full independence from the death of Asoka 232 B.C. up till the 13th century A.D., which was the period of the rise of Delhi Sultanate. Mohammad Bin Qasim in 712 conquered Sind, but the situation considerably changed after him. For nearly three centuries Sind remained semi-independent under Arab Caliphs. In 1053 Sumra a Rajput tribe occupied Sind and nominated a representative as an independent ruler. In 1333 Sammas came into power. The connection of Sind with the rest of India was nominal and when Akbar came on the throne it was separate from the centre. In 1591 he united it with Delhi. After the death of Aurangzeb Sind again became separate from the centre. In the period of Mirs it had also short term independence.

In the battle of Miani and Deba Mirs surrendered it to British forces and it was recognised as non-regulation province.

Throughout history, therefore in the first place there remained unsubmerged by empires the grass root values of the rural population and their culture of accumulation.

Secondly, Sind remained peripheral to the main streams of development in the sub-continent. In the harsh and limiting environment Sind borrowed from conquerors and from neighbouring provinces those cultural elements which suited the practical needs of life away from the main political and cultural

power. Empiricism and flexibility on a provincial, non metropolitan basis was the keynote rather than fanaticism. Centres such as Multan served as the exchange points for the slow diffusion of those ideas and concepts which best suited Sind.

Thirdly, one must remember the decisive part played by Islam, traditionally tolerant, but with great missionary activity. Islamic religion and culture have played the dominant part in every thing from education to the position of women. Sind is and always has been distinct but more than anything it is Muslim.

SECTION II

CHAPTER III

Agriculture

Preliminary Note.

In Chapters III and IV those aspects of economic organisation which are most directly relevant to this study in Social Geography are alone considered.

The method adopted has been to consider economic organisation from the standpoint view of occupations and the ways in which occupations are associated with Social groupings.

Plate 1

where social relationships are more important than functional efficiency in profit making. (See Bibliography).

By the land reform of 1959 situations have been changed. Under this reform the heavy concentration of land in the hands of few landlords is being ended. The government has fixed the ceiling of ownership at 500 acres of irrigated and 1,000 unirrigated land. The excess Units beyond this limit have been taken over by the government and are given to the landless tenants and some are being reserved in forests.

Prior to this reform landlard absenteeism was very potent. Some 80% by area of the land was cultivated by tenants who were tenant at will. A few landlords had a political monopoly. The system of giving big holdings to the cultivators on the newly irrigated parts of land during the period of British supremacy was not applied in Sind and large grants were given mainly to the aristocratic old rich families. "While 48.6% of the cultivated area belonged to owners forming but 3% of the total - a few of whom owned more than 10,000 acres each - the holding of more than 150,000 occupants were only 15 acres or smaller in size" (Tayyeb). It is estimated that the area of the land which was resumed in Sind was 831,774 acres. This is more than half of the total land resumed under West Pakistan land reform.

In spite of this new legislation the landlord still wields the extensive power although various rights have been given to the tenant farmer - the "hari". The relations between the tenants and the landlords are very critical.

The landlord not only controls the kind of animals but also gives loans to the tenants to meet the expenditure. The hari at times of marriage, death, pregnancy and other social emergencies in the family is also assisted in the form of loans. The time for payment is harvest time and after payment the typical peasant may receive nothing since everything is covered with debts and so once more the cycle of advance loan begins. The tenancy agreement is "batai" a share cropping system on a 50:50 basis with the landowner supplying the land with the bullocks, plough and seeds being supplied by the hari who also sometimes pays the wages of the labourers. There are numerous variations in arrangements. As the writer has observed in some parts of Hyderabad where landlord supplies the bullock, plough team and pays labourers then the hari gets $\frac{1}{4}$ and owner one half, the remaining $\frac{1}{4}$ going to the labourers. The landowner may be the actual owner or contractor (temporary owner). The latter type of owner is called "Muqatiadar". These hire the land from the actual owner for a particular period under an agreement called "Muqatia". The agreements, as in most of the cases which have been observed, continues up till one year. These intermediaries will engage hari for cultivation on the basis of "batai" (share cropping) and become "defacto" landlords with temporary leases rather than titles of their land.

The second and the third category includes, first, owner occupiers who cultivate the land which they own and secondly such types who not only farm their own land but also are tenants of other landowners. Such farmers usually cultivate on a fairly small scale. In general, farming in these cases is subsistence orientated.

The main feature is that even more than with the first category of farm holding there is practically no costing of input of labour etc. In some cases there is a demand for hired labour this being paid for in cash and kind. These rates derived mainly from maintenance need rather than commercial profitability. As in the old Russian Mir the whole family will have a joint interest in jointly owned property so that the interest of one is the interest of all. The patriarchal head of the family will take final decisions but all members will work without individual compensation for the joint family treasury. The practice of reciprocal help in cultivation also extends beyond family relationships in some villages. As in other regions of the world such as Iran and Turkey the family organisation is an essential part of this type of agriculture.

The last category of landless labourers really describes those people who are without employment and land of their own and who frequently live in very poor shanty town conditions on the fringes of the towns and in villages and who exist at a low level by taking temporary casual employment in menial jobs. The relationship between this depressed class and farmers is temporary and only exists when there is a special and urgent need for extra labourers. As a group they are neither urban nor rural, but merely deprived.

Since all cultivation is based on irrigation then the nature of the water supply is of key importance. In the Dadu district most irrigation water is obtained from hill torrents and "nallas" and supply of water is therefore dependent upon the feeding of hill streams by

Plate 2

irregular rainfall. Under such conditions the topography and hydrology strictly controls the location and the use of cultivated land.

In Sukkur on the other hand perennial canal irrigation serves large areas of continuous contiguous farms and water control through central authority becomes important.

At its inception the tubewell supply was usually designed to supply independent areas of farms and here the main change has come from the more extensive central provision of tubewells although in Sind the physical conditions have not required that this should be developed on the same scale as in Punjab. Lastly in the desert region the presumed large resources of underground water have not yet been extensively tapped. The few deep wells therefore only supply small oases and are particularly important for livestock watering.

Clearly the crop range and demands made on the cultivations will vary from region to region depending on the type of irrigation and use. Everywhere one finds the same traditional implements ('hal') plough, kodar (spade) and the levelling beam (patella) together dato (sickle) and the rumbo (handhoe).

Grain is usually animal thrashed then winnowed by a six toothed wooden pitch fork and wind. Rice is nursery grown and transplanted to the field. Wheat and rice together with cotton are cultivated in the traditional ways with a heavy expenditure of man and animal labour. But cotton for which Sind is famous is cultivated rather better than most other crops.

Secondary crops include millets, oil-seeds, pulses, sugar canes and a variety of vegetables, these are grown both for domestic consumption and for sale although, as in all agriculture, market-orientation is not well developed.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Sindi cultivation is the variability of yields and the area under crop as illustrated in Appendix 3 and 4.

Since this thesis is primarily concerned with social aspect of Sindi life then consideration of other aspects of farming are dealt with in the section of social organisation.

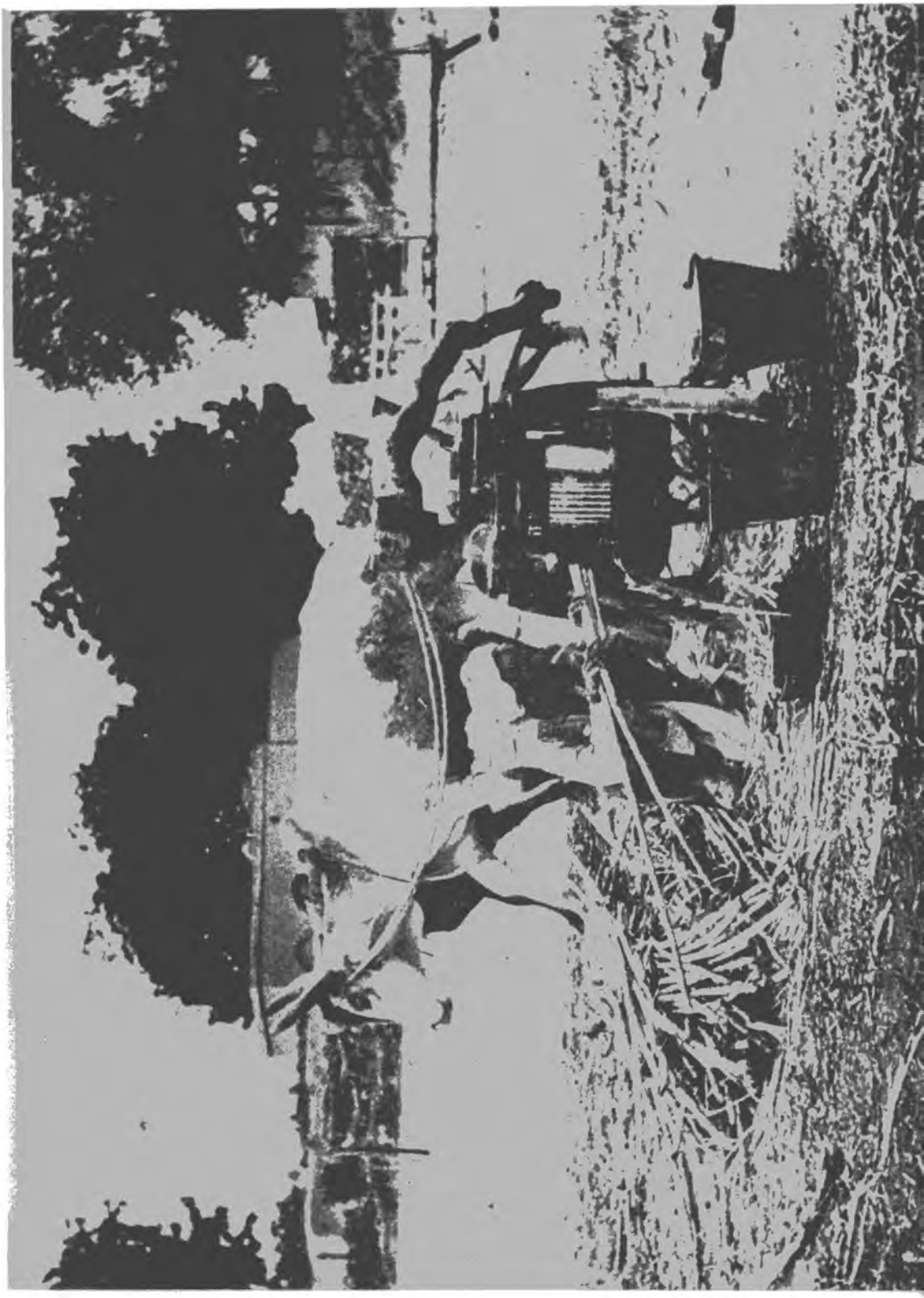
The rearing of animals is an important feature of agrarian communities in Sind, livestock including cattle, buffaloes, sheep, camels and horses. Sind has its own typical breeds of cattle such as Thari in the Tharparkar region also called White Sindi. Another type is the Red Sindi or Bhagnari. The Thari breed became important during the first world war when the animals were taken to the nearest army camp for the supply of milk. According to a statement of Williamson Thari is a cross between the Kankrej, Red Sindi, Gir and Nagori breeds and is not homogeneous. Because conditions in the arid region have always been critical and cattle have always regularly moved to the adjoining areas in search of fodder then cross breeding is traditionally normal. In spite of this heterogeneous characteristic it has good milk producing capacity and can suit all types of field work and it has enough endurance to face famine and drought. Bhagnari is the next important breed. About its origin it is said to have migrated to Pakistan by the route of Bolan pass

in the period of Rig Vedic Aryans and scattered in Kalat state (Baluchistan). The Bhagnari breed has numerous local names like Dajal, Nari and Kachhi, all good for their draft characteristics.

The goat, sheep, buffaloes are also notable Sindi species and horse breeding is also being popularised. The activeness and capability of enduring much fatigue are their significant characteristics. The most notable breed of Sindi buffaloes is the Murrah type. They are good suppliers of milk which is very rich and has a high fat content. The buffaloes mainly live in the deltaic areas and in good alluvial tracts. Sheep are milked but their main commercial significance is the supply of wool.

Sindis have deep sentimental attachment to their animals and even in cases of financial difficulties they are hardly willing to sell them. The animals and lands are treated as part and parcel of familial organisations. When a Sindi due to unavoidable circumstances is compelled to sell them this is really a day of mourning. At the time of purchasing land or cattle formal meetings are held amongst the family members and consent of other villagers is also sought. Traditional methods of disease protection of animals are very numerous and have many magical elements. Some diseases are supposed to be the effect of evil spirits and under such conditions the "Tawiz" amulets are obtained from "Mulla" and "Bhopos" (self styled saints). They are hung around the necks of animals, one type for curing disease and another to check the evil eye. Around the neck of the buffaloes and cows apart from bells sometimes a garland is hung which is called "Bhanwar Kali". This traditional garland is made of the backbone of tortoises. The

Plate 4



pieces of bone are made into the shape of the leaves of the Sisso tree and are tied around the neck with small pieces of iron. The iron pieces have also the same design. During an eclipse of the moon the horns of pregnant goats, buffaloes and cows are coloured with red ribbons and they are not allowed to come under the open sky.

When cattle do not give milk they are given raw sugar and salt over which the Bhopo or Mulla recites religious verses. Many other beliefs also control the treatments of livestock.

In most villages there is to be found a specialist in the traditional treatment of animal ailments and while veterinary services are available in the larger towns the local faiths in traditional remedies are usually stronger than trust in scientific official agencies. One striking feature is that the various magical beliefs cut across the Muslim - Hindu religious differences.

In the case of livestock there is of course, as in other peasant type rural areas very little specialization in use. Buffaloes and cattle are used both for draft purposes and for food supply (see Appendix 5). Sheep are valuable for wool and milk products.

Usually stock are not allowed to compete with human demands for food and therefore animal nutrition tends to be poor and variable in spite of the high status given to livestock. In the Tharparkar and hilly regions where rain fed agriculture is dominant then livestock are both important and also vulnerable to drought. It is also in these regions where the effect of soil erosion as the result of overgrazing is greatest.

As can be seen from Chapter I conditions both for cultivation and for pastoralism are difficult. The direct consequences of aridity are obvious resulting in a strong survival orientation and fear of risk taking through specialization. Additionally there is a problem of periodic attacks by locust swarms particularly from Iran, Baluchistan and Rajistan.

As earlier noted the destructive effects of Indus floods has also produced a combination of farming for safety rather than profit, and fatalism. Even the development of irrigation has not completely removed hazards. In the district of Khairpur an area of 34,742 acres of fertile land has been ruined by water-logging and an increase in salinity as the consequence of irrigation and smaller though significant areas of Hyderabad, Nawabshah and Thatta have been similarly effected. All this must be borne in mind when considering the rural reluctance to consider change and the Hindu and Muslim reliance on fate and on God. It is also against this background that the strength of kinship and the family must be set, the family serving as an economic unit of strength and outside which lies danger. Quite apart from the presence or absence of other opportunities social mobility therefore tends to be weak in that individuals moving out not only feel themselves very vulnerable but also such a movement weakens the family unit and is therefore disloyal. Here therefore the social, cultural, and economic elements all combine to strengthen the family and authority within it.

Now however the effects of government measures to reduce farming risks and improve production in the national interest are tending to destroy the traditional

forces. Farmers and landowners are learning mechanised methods of cultivation by way of demonstration plots and hired tractors are made available. The output of crops has been increased. Sowing of legumes and the use of green and organic manures are among the measures which are taught to the agriculturists. Recently the agriculture department has established depots of Ammonium Sulphate, Ammonium Phosphate, Calcium, Ammonium Nitrate, Super Phosphate, Urea, Muriate of Potash etc.

Mechanised farming is being popularised with big landlords especially in areas of Colonization schemes such as Sukkur Barrage. Some landlords in Larkana districts have used mechanised methods and are getting good results. Even in a few tenant farms green and farmyard manure has been used.

One experimental farm with an area of more than 700 acres is working near Sakarand and there is another farm at Padidan.

With livestock also qualitative improvements are being made. The Bhagnari breed of cattle is being improved at various centres such as Jacobabad and near Dadu while at Gambat Taluka a Thari breeding centre has been established. At Jhimpur in Thatta a sheep breeding station has been achieving good results.

As noted earlier however the main problems remains that of land shortage and government efforts in extending the area under irrigation are vital.

Without new land resources farms will remain small and it will be difficult to ensure that improved varieties of plants, breeds of animals and better husbandry techniques are used by the farmers. As long as farms remain small and subsistence orientated so will the existing social structure of the rural population remain little changed. The recent Guddu Barrage scheme 90 miles north of Sukkur is an example of reclamation. By its three feeder canals it is estimated that barrages can give weir controlled irrigation which may ultimately cover a cultivable area more than 2.5 million acres on both sides of the river in Mirpur Mathello in Sukkur district and it is expected that there will be in particular an increase in rice cultivation.

Experts believe that the scheme seems financially productive and that there can be expected a net return "of 4.5% and 5.3% on the capital outlay in 20th and 30th year after its construction" (District Census Jacobabad 1961).

In Guddu barrage area the provision of advance loans to cultivators and the arrangement of "Mandi" (markets) towns and farms for cattle and agriculture are very significant. The Ghulam Mohammod Barrage scheme is also important. The barrage serves a cultivable area of about 2.8 million acres and will irrigate 700,000 acres and there will be an increase in the output of rice, wheat and cotton. There are also schemes for tackling the deteriorating Indus lands where 23% is affected by salinity and 17% is waterlogged. There is a need of the construction of tubewells and good drainage arrangements.

In Khairpur further soil reclamation experiments are being conducted on 138 acres of land. Statistically the situation in Sind is similar to that of West Pakistan as a whole. In spite of considerable investment in land reclamation which increased newly irrigated land by 1.3 million acres between 1955 - 1960 the shortage of land and small scale farming remains dominant. In Hyderabad Division the average holding size according to the Census of 1960 for agriculture was 13.7 acres, in Khairpur Division 9.4 acres and in the small area under farming in Karachi district 16.3 acres. With prevalent food supply per capita in grain equivalent averaging 15 ozs. a day then the survival element remains strong.

From this brief resume of the main characteristics of agriculture two main points emerge. The first has already been emphasised to be the part played by the family in the traditional rural scene. Secondly there is the fact of change. Individualism may begin to affect society but at the moment family units remain dominant in the new settled areas. The biggest change results from changes in settlement. Once the extended family homestead was always part of a village close-knit by kinship and functions. Now individual homesteads of the "Gothro" pattern (see Chapter V) are becoming more numerous. At the same time technical improvements are opening the eyes of individuals to opportunities outside primary production while at the same time self-employment in agriculture is in some districts being eroded by the growth of wage-labour employment on some larger farms, (Appendix 6).

CHAPTER III

Appendix 2.

		Total Agriculture labour force.	Non Agriculture labour force.
1.	Khairpur Division	8,55,303	2,66,740
2.	Hyderabad Division	7,63,977	3,65,394
3.	Karachi district	16,542	6,65,661

Source - Census of Pakistan Vol. 3, West Pakistan, population 1961, Ministry of Home and Kashmir Affairs Government of Pakistan, Karachi.

CHAPTER III

Appendix 3.

CROP ACREAGES by Districts - District Census of 1961.

(in acres)

1. Jacobabad.

	Rice	Wheat	Barley	Jowar
1947-48	1,77,934	71,873	82	64,171
1948-49	2,17,539	86,673	96	57,872
1949-50	2,17,909	92,152	96	64,125
1950-51	2,35,129	96,205	186	61,185
1951-52	2,19,834	48,857	144	44,969
1952-53	2,39,400	65,565	479	35,500
1953-54	2,56,568	72,865	136	48,564
1954-55	2,42,345	71,600	76	47,908
1955-56	2,69,209	101,827	500	45,269
1956-57	2,45,131	116,666	236	43,375
1957-58	2,45,600	105,510	65	41,500
1958-59	2,45,600	130,000	847	40,321
1959-60	2,616,00	115,000	-	41,100
1960-61	2,63,000	104,490	1,698	43,100

Appendix 3 (Cont).

1. Jacobabad (Cont.)

	Bajira	Gram	
1947-48	21,705	1,89,436	1.
1948-49	14,029	1.89,993	2.
1949-50	16,413	1,57,858	3.
1950-51	22,490	1,64,198	4.
1951-52	15,554	1,63,602	5.
1952-53	15,127	1,86,438	6.
1953-54	15,145	2,05,061	7.
1954-55	11,445	2,33,700	8.
1955-56	11,246	2,17,057	9.
1956-57	8,595	2,11,191	10.
1957-58	9,755	1,87,450	11.
1958-59	6,505	1,88,400	12.
1959-60	7,510	1,83,610	13.
1960-61	5,900	2,35,200	14.

Appendix 3 (Cont.)

1. Jacobabad (Cont.)

Mung and Mash	Peas Moth, and other Pulses	Oil-seeds	Sugar cane	Cotton	Total area cropped	
35	47,284	54,928	53	7,402	7,03,793	1.
107	41,752	55,413	50	5,735	7,07,238	2.
45	41,321	27,789	51	3,662	6,96,774	3.
137	53,197	39,606	101	7,569	6,65,597	4.
28	53,123	39,163	188	12,031	6,56,244	5.
100	56,777	31,353	175	29,846	7,45,943	6.
132	59,974	31,173	311	11,863	7,85,100	7.
153	73,475	37,305	405	8,432	8,01,634	8.
22	76,277	54,858	551	8,181	8,42,991	9.
26	57,920	56,891	388	8,512	..	10.
90	58,414	44,390	655	7,460	..	11.
..	-	..	605	3,942	7,83,715	12.
-	2,142	31,754	600	4,200	8,13,346	13.
-	1,095	30,800	700	3,700	..	14.

Appendix 3 (Cont)

2. Sanghar.

	Year	Rice	Wheat	Barley	Jower	Bajira	Gram	Other Cereals (Maize)
1.	1947-48	7,881	1,78,506	21	9,308	30,019	237	137
2.	1948-49	8,805	2,20,955	21	8,329	32,385	332	181
3.	1949-50	8,334	1,83,138	10	12,658	36,117	390	470
4.	1950-51	9,892	1,88,540	15	13,102	40,119	440	829
5.	1951-52	10,071	1,50,857	12	15,138	24,192	607	791
6.	1952-53	6,093	1,94,532	15	16,416	32,802	457	650
7.	1953-54	5,653	2,12,083	16	19,392	37,625	2144	404
8.	1954-55	6,273	1,91,750	85	22,239	42,267	2746	697
9.	1955-56	7,255	2,03,166	81	17,347	33,445	3130	862
10.	1956-57	9,067	1,84,046	-	20,946	36,620	1806	713
11.	1957-58	11,005	1,88,387	4	16,239	30,375	1414	835
12.	1958-59	12,288	1,98,000	..	20,962	32,791	1526	834
13.	1959-60	13,984	1,95,020	-	20,407	34,109	1965	973
14.	1960-61	7,908	1,89,376	-	18,300	33,600	2240	2429

Appendix 3 (Cont).

2. Sanghar (Cont)

Mung and Mash	Peas, Moth and other pulses	Oil Seeds	Sugar Cane	Cotton	Total area cropped	
313	2,799	8,595	200	-	-	1.
209	3,449	6,972	893	1,67,610	-	2.
220	3,676	12,060	1,045	-	-	3.
192	2,916	13,708	1,215	-	-	4.
745	3,480	38,396	1,067	-	-	5.
361	3,489	16,407	768	-	-	6.
371	7,997	11,199	1,667	2,05,051	5,87,440	7.
440	12,797	10,125	2,123	2,06,442	5,88,775	8.
311	8,240	25,397	2,432	2,25,764	6,00,009	9.
104	7,002	43,125	3,150	2,35,826	-	10.
170	9,591	30,743	4,653	2,42,238	-	11.
..	..	..	5,182	2,46,017	6,48,770	12.
227	3,665	45,601	7,000	2,43,000	6,58,835	13.
755	2,930	45,700	8,400	2,41,600	..	14.

Appendix 3 (Cont.)

3. Sukkur

Year	Rice	Wheat	Barley	Jowar	Bajira	
1947-48	1,54,021	1,02,823	826	13,400	25,047	1.
1948-49	1,34,724	1,67,420	2,898	84,061	21,138	2.
1949-50	1,53,290	1,33,222	2,107	79,000	22,114	3.
1950-51	1,78,459	1,65,775	8,526	85,655	33,653	4.
1951-52	1,79,988	1,09,038	2,037	73,293	26,875	5.
1952-53	1,92,146	1,13,318	1,649	92,852	29,001	6.
1953-54	2,00,412	1,15,275	999	87,672	25,493	7.
1954-55	2,07,201	1,26,547	1,233	85,351	28,919	8.
1955-56	2,15,863	1,50,673	1,328	79,960	26,640	9.
1956-57	2,17,402	1,39,988	2,108	72,060	24,390	10.
1957-58	2,23,500	1,40,500	2,171	71,700	25,930	11.
1958-59	2,31,453	1,54,900	3,001	71,111	28,230	12.
1959-60	2,11,316	1,60,290	3,400	81,156	38,637	13.
1960-61	1,86,300	2,11,027	2,965	88,700	41,200	14.

Appendix 3 (Cont.)

3. Sukkur (Cont).

Gram	Other cereals (Maize)	Mung & Mash	Peas, Moth etc.	Oil Seeds	Sugar Cane	Cotton	Total area cropped	
1,30,360		412	39,966	21,070	136	7,899	6,28,021	1.
1,60,500		426	47,547	43,100	216	4,972	6,85,289	2.
1,04,886		327	47,478	22,556	228	6,896	6,78,594	3.
1,10,715		515	47,539	25,971	243	8,207	7,53,380	4.
1,16,971	10	265	54,357	29,745	198	7,540	6,55,416	5.
1,44,165	15	660	57,833	27,180	320	11,869	7,24,484	6.
1,40,077	37	593	46,747	27,524	293	8,737	7,43,844	7.
1,10,911	67	609	69,697	21,412	324	8,489	6,87,752	8.
1,63,782	264	516	65,340	37,748	388	7,178	8,39,344	9.
1,51,493	220	777	66,032	38,652	370	8,130	8,04,127	10.
1,54,600	24	742	57,597	39,475	337	8,563	N.A.	11.
1,69,816	257	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	443	8,602	8,47,476	12.
1,89,700	322	2,052	2,197	46,410	600	8,400	8,90,408	13.
1,88,625	324	430	205	38,600	800	6,500	N.A.	14.

Appendix 3 (Cont.)

4. Nawabshah

Year	Rice	Wheat	Barley	Jowar	Bajira	Gram	
1947-48	1,499	1,94,214	1,436	77,499	31,362	12,666	1.
1948-49	1,761	2,16,160	1,287	90,061	26,174	8,255	2.
1949-50	2,170	1,90,263	1,456	87,722	29,086	8,584	3.
1950-51	4,258	1,38,611	2,195	88,053	31,790	12,492	4.
1951-52	3,878	1,37,289	2,106	86,574	26,910	12,171	5.
1952-53	3,749	2,19,198	2,250	1,04,039	22,934	10,656	6.
1953-54	6,368	2,05,183	530	1,04,647	25,440	12,459	7.
1954-55	7,212	1,53,278	287	95,014	28,789	13,289	8.
1955-56	5,466	1,86,405	291	1,18,088	19,995	15,915	9.
1956-57	6,246	1,95,932	257	89,487	24,703	18,298	10.
1957-58	7,724	1,77,925	599	77,015	23,883	16,669	11.
1958-59	9,187	1,93,804	665	85,185	22,943	14,600	12.
1959-60	6,555	2,20,299	600	87,900	24,301	20,759	13.
1960-61	4,592	2,12,592	644	71,900	29,000	26,319	14.

Appendix 3 (Cont.)

4. Nawabshah (Cont.)

Other Cereals Maize	Mung & Mash	Peas, Moth & other pulses	Oil Seeds	Sugar Cane	Cotton	Total Area Cropped	
573	2,805	53,049	59,035	3,382	1,87,555	8,21,433	1.
512	2,986	55,346	35,791	3,848	79,006	6,03,290	2.
508	2,161	56,993	62,246	4,671	2,05,642	9,28,653	3.
477	2,423	60,897	94,706	3,886	2,18,314	1,055,692	4.
413	3,997	87,434	1,34,204	3,945	2,16,712	9,45,118	5.
738	2,545	64,476	72,767	4,937	2,29,136	9,46,817	6.
1,275	2,357	68,495	87,430	9,422	1,02,460	6,93,444	7.
1,989	342	66,631	1,90,250	10,369	1,08,365	7,28,459	8.
1,858	355	59,295	1,73,764	8,677	1,40,798	...	9.
2,077	262	65,803	1,47,550	9,895	1,25,964	...	10.
2,732	93	52,298	1,72,233	10,775	1,60,833	...	11.
2,439	..	..	..	19,368	1,25,897	8,04,367	12.
3,586	40	28,335	1,69,184	15,900	1,19,700	8,96,715	13.
4,418	48	27,681	1,62,600	19,100	1,41,200	...	14.

Appendix 3 (Cont.)

5. Khairpur

Year	Rice	Wheat	Barley	Jowar	Bijira	Gram	Other Cereals (Maize)	
1947-48	14,805	1,12,920	1,482	84,557	4,672	22,585	60	1.
1948-49	13,761	1,16,847	694	79,495	6,842	19,479	90	2.
1949-50	14,259	1,00,437	2,855	75,619	12,471	16,418	128	3.
1950-51	14,982	97,743	2,210	68,787	4,511	26,655	163	4.
1951-52	15,174	1,02,137	2,108	76,905	2,787	26,757	368	5.
1952-53	11,482	1,26,000	2,255	86,000	3,594	20,178	430	6.
1953-54	14,671	1,37,000	2,926	72,000	3,276	29,207	614	7.
1954-55	6,483	1,23,495	3,157	75,208	5,206	25,728	604	8.
1955-56	6,228	1,39,000	6,292	71,695	3,494	31,329	400	9.
1956-57	62,337	1,33,740	2,994	59,616	6,058	26,370	392	10.
1957-58	13,419	1,23,860	2,479	58,478	3,905	31,750	756	11.
1958-59	16,797	1,35,609	2,961	63,917	4,324	25,553	966	12.
1959-60	14,504	1,38,464	4,800	63,450	6,821	30,615	632	13.
1960-61	8,111	1,33,968	3,789	61,100	7,100	27,452	740	14.

Appendix 3 (Cont.)

5. Khairpur (Cont.)

Mung and Mash	Peas Moth and other pulses	Oil Seeds	Sugar Cane	Cotton	Indigo	Total area cropped	
150	73,238	49,930	2,839	38,000	-	3,26,401	1.
32	38,710	49,655	2,905	38,000	-	3,45,126	2.
86	48,819	53,789	2,327	46,695	-	3,36,003	3.
23	52,055	79,245	1,740	52,000	-	3,67,444	4.
-	39,729	92,013	2,266	72,304	-	4,05,668	5.
33	35,869	49,149	3,874	90,889	-	4,14,148	6.
118	44,616	47,593	4,866	63,234	-	4,25,227	7.
23	29,359	59,422	7,026	72,774	-	4,38,357	8.
49	33,782	60,205	5,897	81,272	-	4,02,476	9.
36	32,327	54,671	5,207	90,995	-	..	10.
25	30,074	54,359	6,845	94,843	-	..	11.
..	-	..	9,296	90,006	-	4,39,671	12.
99	3,240	42,000	10,500	72,700	-	4,83,025	13.
106	120	49,400	10,900	67,600	-	..	14.

Appendix 3 (Cont.)

6. Dadu

Year	Rice	Wheat	Barley	Jowar	Bajira	
1947-48	1,52,513	94,715	1,634	30,050	1,158	1.
1948-49	1,05,580	1,32,340	2,530	61,106	3,512	2.
1949-50	1,47,000	1,00,625	1,591	72,484	4,469	3.
1950-51	1,51,617	90,499	3,131	84,019	4,049	4.
1951-52	1,31,324	71,448	3,695	50,390	256	5.
1952-53	1,28,256	83,323	3,420	58,182	996	6.
1953-54	1,40,158	73,265	3,720	99,325	1,991	7.
1954-55	1,45,732	93,755	3,713	44,192	3,250	8.
1955-56	1,49,846	1,15,702	3,658	90,932	413	9.
1956-57	80,000	1,27,970	1,537	1,54,302	10	10.
1957-58	1,40,287	93,333	2,321	29,896	72	11.
1958-59	1,43,370	1,33,384	1,765	56,355	57	12.
1959-60	1,51,569	1,35,946	2,400	84,920	3,075	13.
1960-61	1,44,825	1,27,474	1,816	47,700	600	14.

Appendix 3 (Cont.)

6. Dadu (Cont.)

Gram	Maize	Mung and Mash	Peas Moth and other pulses	Oil Seeds	Sugar Cane	Cotton	Total area cropped.	
11,158	-	-	6o,549	15,452	69	5,305	4,45,329	1.
10,895	-	-	62,804	18,815	115	3,482	4,64,419	2.
9,175	22	281	65,049	18,650	347	13,180	5,21,559	3.
9,642	30	140	84,143	54,414	224	3,091	5,01,909	4.
7,114	52	10	73,277	22,880	558	2,241	4,19,283	5
5,850	49	152	78,892	24,794	797	4,749	4,69,464	6.
8,276	38	30	74,707	22,159	1,388	3,345	5,33,451	7.
13,094	68	25	43,740	22,555	1,768	2,930	4,79,514	8.
13,966	25	50	59,904	34,667	2,167	3,446	-	9.
12,600	20	220	61,739	56,365	2,182	3,657	9,50,955	10.
16,360	88	-	66,239	23,560	1,780	2,521	-	11.
12.620	95	-	-	-	3,714	2,056	-	12.
20,775	90	-	2,041	44,332	2,600	2,600	6,67,524	13.
17,742	156	-	1,570	35,600	2,900	2,800	-	14.

Appendix 3 (Cont.)

7. Larkana

Year	Rice	Wheat	Barley	Jowar	Bajira	Gram	
1947-48	3,58,200	79,696	1,720	14,961	8	68,245	1.
1948-49	3,51,144	1,03,415	263	13,150	2	45,920	2.
1949-50	3,61,004	1,03,511	652	12,766	42	53,010	3.
1950-51	3,65,756	73,834	932	10,336	34	58,895	4.
1951-52	3,72,984	72,054	563	10,922	6	60,513	5.
1952-53	3,84,578	78,892	397	5,382	2	73,213	6.
1953-54	3,87,804	74,647	149	10,471	10	76,939	7.
1954-55	3,93,404	83,872	100	8,582	Nil	1,06,209	8.
1955-56	3,70,551	91,874	107	7,351	15	1,48,760	9.
1956-57	3,29,154	1,17,626	10	18,657	89	89,360	10.
1957-58	3,80,609	80,365	155	4,021	6	95,175	11.
1958-59	3,87,664	1,07,351	171	4,363	5	73,545	12.
1959-60	3,78,272	1,15,952	200	9,556	Nil	73,780	13.
1960-61	2,93,610	1,12,392	210	14,500	Nil	66,399	14.

Appendix 3 (Cont.)

7. Larkana (Cont.)

Other Cereals (Maize)	Mung & Mash	Peas Moth etc.	Oil Seeds	Sugar Cane	Cotton indigo	Total area cropped	
Nil	16	91,561	55,420	269	172	6,28,241	1.
Nil	Nil	80,339	1,32,475	239	24	5,48,122	2.
15	"	92,626	59,050	154	66	6,41,959	3.
2	"	1,06,252	68,875	237	8	6,90,833	4.
2	"	98,727	83,090	165	229	7,09,342	5.
2	"	8,0082	97,392	259	303	8,21,782	6.
7	"	98,413	64,700	397	129	8,49,209	7.
15	"	1,26,747	69,450	282	74	N.A.	8.
35	"	96,951	75,504	347	75	"	9.
9	"	90,941	91,424	380	Nil	7,82,372	10.
15	"	94,198	90,240	403	"	N.A.	11.
15	"	N.A.	N.A.	773	7	8,27,453	12.
Nil	"	Nil	67,649	800	Nil	8,37,110	13.
58	"	20	46,5000	1,100	400	-	14.

Appendix 3 (Cont.)

8. Karachi

Year	Wheat	Jowar	Other Cereals	Mung & Mash	Oil Seeds.
1960-61	398	6570	452	1380	16

Appendix 3 (Cont.)

9. Hyderabad.

Year	Rice	Wheat	Barley	Jowar	Bajira	Gram	
1947-48	1,22,500	2,06,105	575	7,609	54,397	1,386	1.
1948-49	1,71,453	2,09,426	749	12,711	69,121	1,099	2.
1949-50	1,50,842	2,12,578	632	13,468	72,103	1,964	3.
1950-51	1,49,610	2,03,689	615	12,823	71,755	1,870	4.
1951-52	1,20,922	1,63,977	629	7,850	48,280	855	5.
1952-53	1,06,332	2,09,236	593	9,760	51,884	996	6.
1953-54	1,66,255	2,13,519	560	10,811	78,091	868	7.
1954-55	1,62,520	2,24,222	572	10,356	76,266	1,069	8.
1955-56	1,69,182	2,26,757	620	8,852	58,039	1,485	9.
1956-57	2,05,477	2,26,624	596	11,875	68,600	2,005	10.
1957-58	2,35,093	2,17,485	628	13,225	67,180	2,785	11.
1958-59	2,66,421	2,55,955	648	13.555	66,713	2,065	12.
1959-60	3,52,677	2,65,181	700	14,522	57,741	2,024	13.
1960-61	2,81,230	2,55,399	742	17,400	69,100	2,600	14.

Appendix 3 (Cont.)

9. Hyderabad (Cont.)

Other Cereals (Maize)	Mung and Mash	Peas Moth and other pulses	Oil Seeds	Sugar Cane	Cotton	Total area cropped.	
208	631	10,760	5,250	1,733	2,34,560	8,62,156	1.
390	971	12,449	7,290	3,139	2,05,182	8,40,631	2.
389	655	14,741	7,057	3,190	2,01,585	8,47,108	3.
482	501	14,208	6,550	3,355	2,02,500	8,60,864	4.
388	195	69,920	5,496	3,284	2,04,263	9,13,107	5.
733	170	70,725	2,751	3,710	2,30,577	8,92,138	6.
697	Nil	10,000	4,500	3,563	2,15,851	9,76,472	7.
611	200	10,127	3,290	2,893	2,12,863	9,49,605	8.
401	1,602	13,897	13,008	2,905	2,25,170	9,48,383	9.
527	1,040	12,346	33,153	3,370	2,33,318	9,50,955	10.
615	1,04o	12,713	33,457	4,570	2,42,155	N.A.	11.
709	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	3,956	2,44,444	10,96,069	12.
1,157	1,060	3,605	38,012	4,300	2,51,000	10,95,680	13.
1,530	1,188	2,293	61,900	5,100	2,56,300	-	14.

Appendix 3 (Cont.)

10. Thatta

Year	Rice	Wheat	Barley	Jowar	Bajira	Gram
1947-48	1,39,092	7,547	7,428	10,300	5,893	982
1948-49	1,79,000	22,155	18,125	21,863	10,230	965
1949- 50	1,90,000	13,875	17,300	21,951	11,608	316
1950-51	2,22,398	13,800	14,050	16,327	13,055	544
1951-52	1,55,155	6,350	6,560	10,659	6,225	626
1952-53	1,81,230	13,838	9,759	11,130	10,812	1,140
1953-54	1,75,000	15,148	9,978	7,040	11,769	960
1954-55	1,53,500	4,705	6,828	4,582	7,230	515
1955-56	1,61,400	18,477	13,546	16,765	8,325	3,732
1956-57	1,69,244	22,060	12,450	21,455	8,510	3,972
1957-58	1,71,320	3,761	6,450	8,684	5,471	3,355
1958-59	1,95,480	7,996	7,250	9,630	5,826	4,960
1959-60	1,98,450	7,590	7,100	32,060	5,737	5,205
1960-61	2,11,450	5,920	5,650	37,900	9,100	2.485

Appendix 3 (Cont.)

10. Thatta (Cont.)

Maize	Mung and Mash	Peas Moth and other Pulses	Oil Seeds	Sugar Cane	Cotton	Total area cropped	
927	1.357	11,118	13,989	1,205	Nil	2,81,942	1.
1,091	4,588	11,073	24,408	1,815	Nil	3,27,757	2.
1,045	4,232	29,944	15,200	2,092	Nil	-	3.
897	3,813	20,008	17,375	1,505	10	-	4.
593	4,990	20,391	9,496	700	Nil	-	5.
534	5,835	24,130	11,250	1,420	131	-	6.
784	5,008	27,641	5,422	1,065	260	-	7.
719	5,346	13,445	4,470	695	5	-	8.
1,745	2,459	13,214	9,430	827	Nil	-	9.
1,945	2,595	21,780	13,352	697	Nil	-	10.
2,055	2,712	14,181	11,550	850	Nil	-	11.
1,570	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	1,001	222	3,18,293	12.
1,580	5,597	10,582	9,350	800	100	3,31,858	13.
2,135	7,020	5,550	8,100	1,200	100	N.A.	14.

CHAPTER III

Appendix 4

Production, Rice and wheat (in tons).

1957/58.

District	Rice	Wheat
Khairpur	5,147	36,051
Larkana	125,844	18,265
Jacobabad	20,183	24,772
Sukkur	91,634	41,038
Nawabshah	2,963	48,859
Thatta	31,721	630
Dadu	59,372	22,403
Hyderabad	62,185	75,668
Tharparkar	14,090	67,008
Sanghar	2,766	64,018

Cotton Seed average production per acre in maunds.

Khairpur Division	3.4
Hyderabad Division	5.3

Source - Major Commodities of Pakistan. Ministry of Finance Economic Affairs Division, Government of Pakistan, Karachi 1960.

CHAPTER III

Appendix 5

Average number of work animals per holding in Sind by Agriculture Census 1960.

Division Khairpur:	
under 1.0 acre	1
1.0 to under 2.5 acres	1
2.5 to under 5.0 acres	2
5.0 to under 7.5 acres	2
12.5 to under 25.0 acres	2
25.0 to under 50.0 acres	3
50.0 to under 150.0 acres	3
150.0 acres and over	3
Division Hyderabad:	
under 1.0 acre	1
1.0 to under 2.5 acres	2
2.5 to under 5.0 acres	2
5.0 to under 7.5 acres	2
7.5 to under 12.5 acres	2
12.5 to under 25.0 acres	2
25.0 to under 50.0 acres	3
50.0 to under 150.0 acres	3
150 acres and above	5

Appendix 5 (Cont.)

	Average number of work animals per holding
Karachi District:	
Under 1.0 acre	1
1.0 to under 2.5 acres	2
2.5 to under 5.0 acres	2
5.0 to under 7.5 acres	1
7.5 to under 12.5 acres	2
12.5 to under 25.0 acres	2
25.0 to under 50.0 acres	3
50.0 to under 150.0 acres	4
150.0 acres and over	3

Pakistan Agriculture Census Vol. 2 1960, Ministry of Agriculture and works government Pakistan 1963.

Appendix 6

Number of Permanent agricultural hired labourers in Sind.

Division Hyderabad	98,604
Division Khairpur	1,86,518
District Karachi	1,820

Source - Pakistan Agriculture Census Vol. 2 1960, Ministry of Agriculture and works 1963.

CHAPTER IV

As in Chapter III we are mainly concerned with occupations and social groupings, but here in the non-agricultural sections of Sindi life, these being of the most direct significance to this particular thesis.

CHAPTER IV

Economic Organisation - Non-Agricultural Sections

In Sind apart from cultivation there is a smaller sector of Sindi Society which is engaged in non agricultural occupations. In this sector one finds a complex of factors including heredity, environment and technical skill in particular fields.

This part of Sindi economic organisation includes a great variety of what we have to term socio-economic communities such as blacksmiths, carpenters, hajam (barbers), silver smiths, gold smiths, tailors, potters, Mirasi (professional attenders of ceremonies), marriage brokers, midwives, cart drivers, basket and matmakers, shopkeepers, porters jugglers, cobblers, painters, chowkidars, butchers, big businessmen, teachers, advocates, government executives and then officials, etc.

The characteristic feature of these groups is above all distinctiveness. Every group due to the different nature of work performed can be easily recognised in relation to other groups. In the following pages we discuss the distinctive nature of such occupational groupings and their relative significance.

However varied in function and status these examples may seem they illustrate collectively and separately some fundamental characteristics of Sindi economy and society. When we come to examine social organisation in Section III we shall see how different lines of cleavage interact. Here on the economic

level we find first that differences between Hindus and Muslims practices sometime exist and sometime do not, secondly that the question of status, associated with some aspects of caste, plays a large part in the definition of economic communities, thirdly that the new as well as traditional occupation groups have community solidarities in a very marked degree.

At one particular level of socio-economic distinctiveness, we find groups such as the blacksmiths and artisans in which individuals are tied together both by common technical skills and often heredity.

The blacksmiths or ironworkers are a very important element in the economic life of Sind, performing indispensable work in rural areas in particular but also in towns. At a low-grade non-specialised level one finds the single smith with no workshop but only a set of handtools and equipment which can be set up in any open space or roadside in village and town. Occasionally with one or two helpers, generally very young male relations, sons or nephews, such a smith using indigenous traditional tools unchanged for millennia, will make or repair a wide variety of iron goods.

At a higher level one finds the smith with a workshop able to perform a large range of non-specialised work in a greater volume of larger goods. There is however little technological development only a change in simple scale and in general location in that a smith's workshop can only be supported by a fairly large village or small town.

Plate 5

Plate 6

In both cases the craft tradition is very strong and is illustrated by attitudes to their tools which are passed on from generation to generation and greatly venerated. One blacksmith said to me "I was very shocked when my hammer was stolen as I inherited it from my forefathers".

All smiths have very close contacts with the agricultural communities for whom they mainly work, making and repairing blades for axes, knives, ploughs and spades and all the iron-mongery required. Occupation apart they are indistinguishable from farming families.

The artisans are very similar to the blacksmiths. Again essential to rural life and important in towns they are essentially hand and craft workers using traditional and often inherited tools and techniques, sometimes in small workshops, sometimes more simply. They usually make tools and articles which are usually finished assemblage of smith-made products and other materials.

Potters on the other hand are as specialised as iron smiths. Requiring kilns for clay-baking, the potters have permanent workshops to which the clay is brought and fabricated. Variations in this group are mainly between levels of skill and production.

The cobblers are a mixed group. They repair and manufacture shoes. In Nawabshah and other towns they are seen sitting on the footpaths, others maintain their shops and work in the factories.

Painters. The group of painters have also significant position in the social life of Sind. They have technical skill in printing traditional designs on clothes and have their typical seals. Their family members also assist them.

Gold and silver smiths - Such groups are more organised and have their shops in the best locality of the towns. Various levels of distinction exist in their nature and quality of their work. Some have a reputation in satisfying rural tastes and some serve the more sophisticated urban market. Economically this group is relatively wealthy. The role of the tailors in the social organisation of Sind is also significant. They cover the requirements not only of traditional Sind but also of modern Sind. The degree of specialization and sophistication in some groups is very limited.

"Mirasi" (professional attendants of ceremonies) The communities of such type are the product of rich society throughout India and Pakistan. In a very ritualistic way they please the people at the time of various ceremonies such as marriage, birth. Their renumeration depends on the good will and the status of the families.

"Hajam"- These constitute a traditional community performing various functions in the villages and towns of Sind. Their nature of services differ due to situational factors. In the marriages they act as messengers and also assist the families in

the distribution of marriage food. They are also rewarded at the occasion of circumcision and marriages. In the towns and big cities they have their haircutting salons.

Washermen - This is a service community which both maintain shops and also work for hire.

Midwives also form an occupational group whose job is to assist the pregnant women at the time of delivery. Sometimes their pay is settled and sometimes not.

Jugglers make up a purely illiterate rural occupational community. They earn their living by demonstrating various entertainments.

The butchers group is not only an important part of the economic organisation but also they have considerable significance in the social life of the people. At the time of festival of "Baqreed" their role is very notable. They slaughter the cow or goat or sheep in Muslim societies, but normally they sell meat and are traditionally regarded untrustworthy in trade. In a city like Karachi the butchers have numerous sub groups. Some form part of the meat market and get the slaughtered and inspected meat from the government departments. Some butchers have independent small shops where they slaughter their animals and sell the meat on a fixed rate. Certain butchers may only sell one type of meat either beef or mutton. Similarly there are markets who deal with only one type of meat. Such organised big meat markets are the dominant phenomenon in big cities.

The groups like basket and matmakers are a notable part of rural industrial organisation. They make baskets and mats from local grass and plants.

Kories (weavers) are really a very interesting group in Sind. They are hardworking and very much traditional although the government has tried to fit them into factories in the hope that the more organised nature of work would produce a more regular and even flow of production, but most groups did not agree. They are proud of their art.

The groups noted above have some craft skills and passing on of these skills is generally a family matter.

Now and for millenia this type of internal family apprenticeship and tendency for each skilled group to intermarry and keep the mysteries of its craft to itself is strong. This is typical of relatively unchanging sedentary communities unaffected by large scale, i.e. international trade or specialization.

In medieval Europe a similar situation was breaking down in the 13th or 15th century because of trade impact. In Sind such impact is only recent and measured in decades.

In some ways different from the craft groups exemplified above are the Professional groups. Here also distinctiveness and solidarity are marked much more so than in equivalent occupation groups in Britain, and almost strong enough to give to each a feeling of socio-economic community rather than

merely a sense of having occupation in common. The first group within this class may be termed businessmen ranging from the great industrialists and factory proprietors etc., to small shopkeepers and vendors. These are essentially organisers of labour and capital. At the lowest level this class includes types of the completely traditional middleman. He may have a small permanent shop in a small town and there forms part of the bazar complex examined in Chapter V.

In the rural areas the vendors or the periodically moving stall-owner is more typical. The community group sense felt by this group is rather like that observed in those people in England who move from market-town with "cheapjack" stock. At the other extreme there are the large-scale business tycoons who much as in Japan tend to form a close community in which socio-economic ties are very close. It is commonly said that in the whole of Pakistan there are some 15 or 16 families who control the great bulk of the country's resources and wealth analogous to the "thousand families" of Iran.

In Sind the development of Karachi is the most significant point here. Now the individualism of modern commerce is tending to conflict with group and family ties but is not yet absolutely triumphant.

After the business group there are other notable groups like doctors or hakeems and advocates and also government servants. Each group has a tendency to mix within its own circle due to the similarity in the lines of occupations, although the degree of the social grouping is variable according to the nature

of the place. Also in Sind there are such groups who are advocates and doctors or government servants and teachers on one side and on the other hand they are also engaged in cultivation. In such situations it is obvious that in spite of the differences in occupation social grouping is increased as a result of the similarity in other economic aspects. The system of ranking also affects the nature of the group. It not only exists in the government servants and business group but the professionally trained groups like advocates and doctors and hakeems can be distinguished on the basis of their merits and ability.

The taking of undue advantage of position and status is a common phenomenon in various groups. The manager of the advocates will sometimes receive economic gains like free supply of Ghee (clarified butter) from the client and if he belongs to business occupation then clothes or other articles. Government servants dealing with the public also get various concessions and gains.

On the whole the society is very much influenced by the different ranks and subranks. In Sind even the lowest group of menials have various degrees of ranks which depend on the size of the establishment or the institution employing them. The menials constitute the economically and socially lowest group and membership of this group is hereditary. These people clean the toilets and houses and roads and are concerned with matters which to Muslim and Hindu alike are polluting to man. Therefore they themselves are held to be unclean and polluting others - this is irrespective

of religion. The economic structure of the communities is also influenced by the factors of mobility. These vary considerably because in traditional society in the normal course, people do not move. In the business and craft groups when the prospects of income are minimised due to heavy competition then people move away. But in spite of that there are also such groups who do not move whether they get profit or not and are content whatever they get. A change of place, blaming only fate, to them is an impossible separation from their traditional environment. Such tradional views are losing their force and adverse circumstances not only compel migration from place to place but also result in the change of the occupation (see Appendix 7). In this way the traditional economic solidarity is being broken.

In professional various groups popularity and good reputation no doubt makes them more static. But sometimes adverse economic factors are so dominant that they affect both the nature of work and the location of the place. The writer has for example observed instances of such youths who were trained as advocates but when they did not find any reasonable profit they not only moved from home but also changed their occupation.

The economic groups without specific skill are often migratory and very flexible in their occupation. In these communities we find Chowkidars, private servants, cooks, cleaners etc.

In this short note on some aspects of the non-rural occupations it has been stressed how social forces rather than individual profit motives affect Sindhi life. Statistical proof of this and of the strength of social groups and sub-groups is impossible to give but all the observational data confirms how these characteristics bring urban life into a surprisingly close correspondence to rural social values.

Appendix 7

The Case Study - An Artisan Family Karachi

Abdul Kareem family is a typical instance of the change of occupation as a result of economic circumstances. Cultivation in Shikarpur was the occupation of the family but the land area was not sufficient to maintain the family because of frequent subdivisions between the heirs. Under such situations the family members abandoned the idea of cultivation and they made a jump from the occupation of agriculture to the occupation of artisans during World War II. This was an entirely new experience and at first there was some difficulty in learning a trade. There were very good prospects for artisan work in Shikarpur as India was not divided and Hindus of Shikarpur who were very rich used to invest a lot of money in manufacturing and building construction. With partition the situation became very adverse because the Hindu financial groups left for India. This change not only left a vacuum in the economy of Shikarpur but also damaged the prospects for the artisans. These unavoidable circumstances forced the family to migrate to Karachi which was greatly being affected by refugee migration. Some of them settled in shanty town huts and some rented a small house. Now the family, having first changed occupation and then changed its location is employed in a range of work -/ from joinery to construction. Such changes were of course more frequent during the great upheavals which accompanied partition then during periods of stability.

CHAPTER V

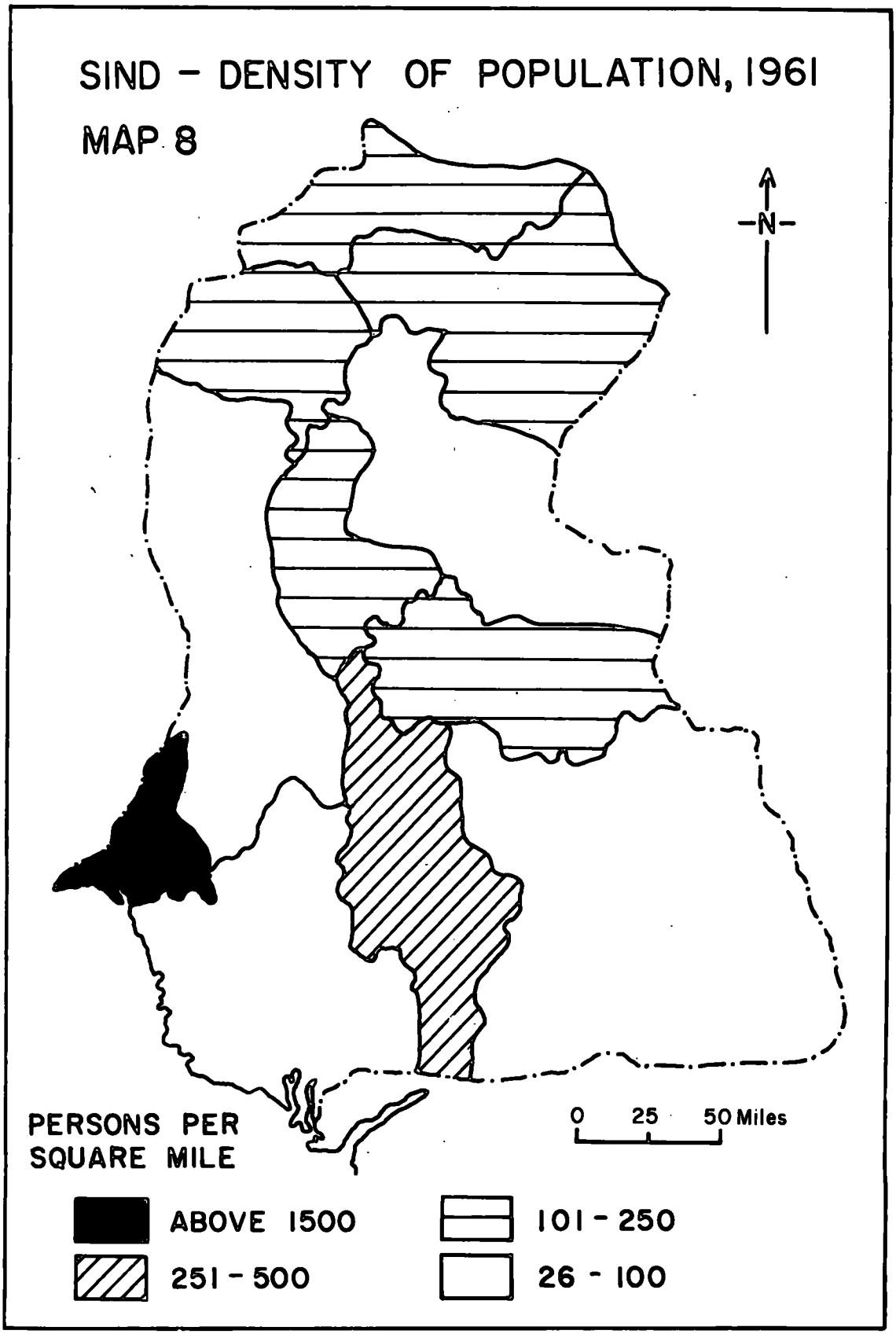
Population and Settlement

In this chapter a brief note on the population is followed by a study of a few aspects of settlement character which are relevant both to the preceding chapters dealing with occupational groupings and the following chapters which explore the main elements in the social organisation of life in Sind.

The population of Sind including Karachi district is as follows:- (1961)

Hyderabad division	32,90,956
Khairpur division	31,33,712
Karachi district	20,44,044

The increase in the size of Karachi is quite significant as it shows an increase of 80.3% over the population of 1951 while the increase in Hyderabad and Khairpur division is 30.3% and 26.9% respectively. The district of Karachi had the highest increase of 1,399.7% during 1901-1961 a rise in the population from 1,36,297 to 20,44,044. The interesting point which can be noted here is that Karachi in 1843 had a size of population of about 14 thousand persons. In 1878 as we noted earlier the independent Sind railway was extended in order to link up Punjab and this contributed to the expansion of Karachi which boomed in its various functions. Later on the selection of Karachi as the first national capital greatly affected its nature. The demographic character considerably changed as a result of migration movements of refugees. Refugees affected not only Karachi but the whole of Sind. Their main concentration was in urban areas

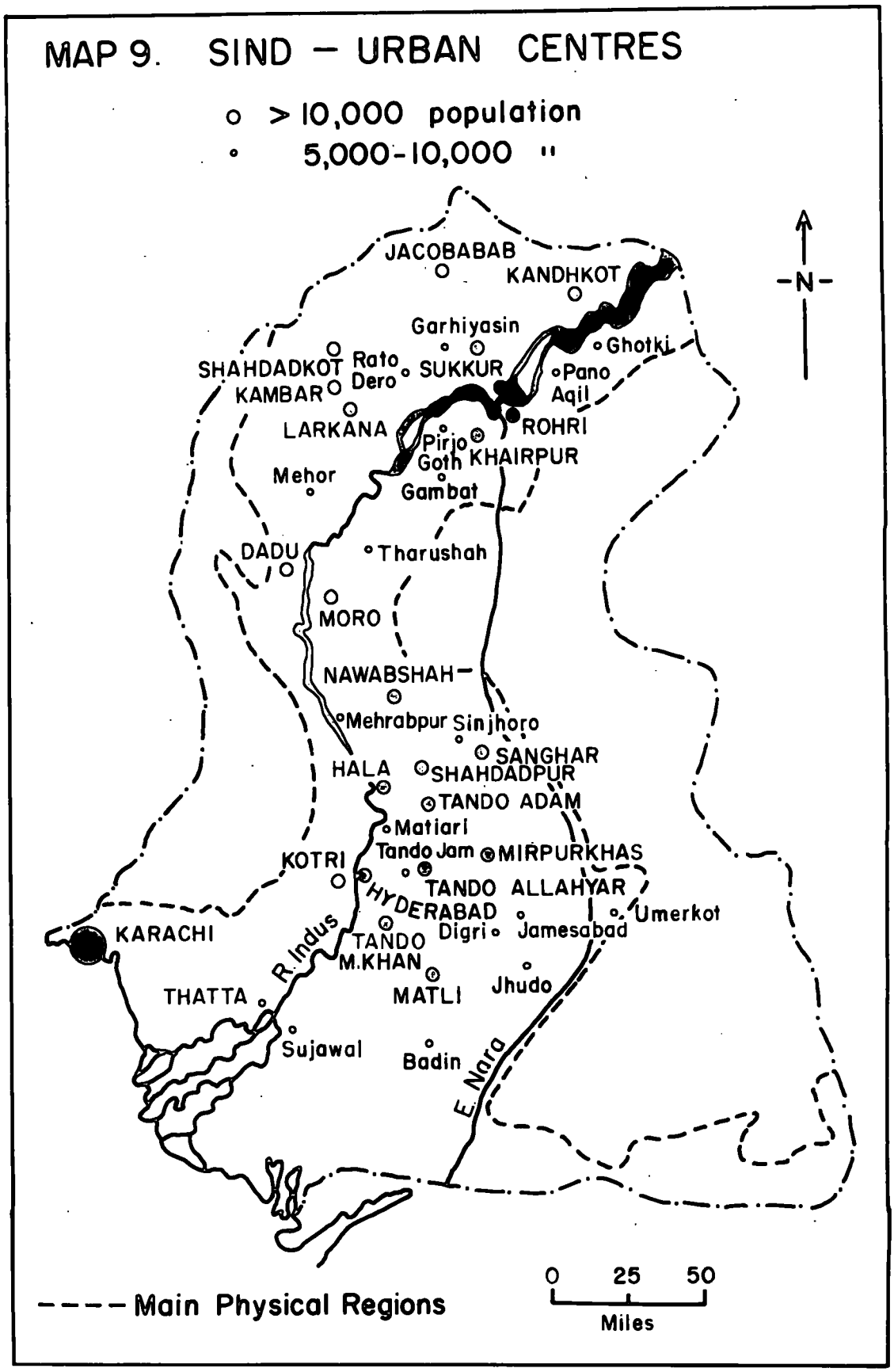

SIND - DENSITY OF POPULATION, 1961
MAP 8
N
PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE
0 25 50 Miles
ABOVE 1500
251 - 500
101 - 250
26 - 100

and also in the irrigated parts of Sind. Sind on the whole was greatly affected by these incomers. According to Mr. Tayyeb "At one time, refugees accounted for nearly half the population of Sind and posed a serious political threat to the Sindis". On the other extreme the bulk of the Hindu Sindi population left for India (Appendix 8).

The Hindu migrants from Sind included not only the agricultural class but there were also many shop keepers, government servants and members of some learned professions etc. The most significant group was of Hindu merchants, the main dealers in grain, cotton, oil, seeds. Another important class was the "Sindi workis" a well known community of Lohana traders which emerged from early development as a group of hawkers.

Now Hindu castes are in the form of a small minority engaged in trade and some in other occupations. According to the Census of 1961 their number was 124,803 in Hyderabad division and in Khairpur division 52,767. The distribution of population and settlement in Sind very clearly reflects the nature of the land of Sind as outlined in Chapter I. Since Sind is predominently an agricultural region and since some 80% of its population consisting 6,413,668 is rural then the direct controls of physical environment are obvious. Wherever there is water then there is some livelihood possibility while when water is scarce the number of inhabitants is small. The lowest densities of population and settlement are found in the eastern desert and the western arid hills (Map 8).

In Thatta where irrigated areas are relatively small


MAP 9. SIND – URBAN CENTRES
o > 10,000 population
• 5,000-10,000 "
N
JACOBABAD
KANDHKOT
Garhiyasin
Ghotki
SHAHDADKOT
Rato
Dero
SUKKUR
Pano
Aqil
KAMBAR
LARKANA
ROHRI
Pirjo
Goth
KHAIRPUR
Mehor
Gambat
DADU
Tharushah
MORO
NAWABSHAH
Mehrabpur
Sinjhoro
SANGHAR
HALA
SHAHDADPUR
TANDO ADAM
Matiari
KOTRI
Tando Jam
MIRPURKHAS
TANDO ALLAHYAR
HYDERABAD
Umerkot
KARACHI
R. Indus
TANDO
M.KHAN
Digri
Jamesabad
THATTA
MATLI
Jhudo
Sujawal
Badin
E. Nara
Main Physical Regions
0 25 50
Miles

the densities are low. On the other hand in the irrigated Indus lowlands of Hyderabad and Sukkur densities are high.

In the lowland of Indus there are concentrated 43 settlements which may be classified as truly urban ranging from Hyderabad with 434,537 inhabitants to small towns of more than 5,000 population, this excluding Karachi which may be regarded as a national rather than a regional phenomenon (see Appendix 9 and Map 9). A meaningful map of the distribution of the actual number of rural settlement is impossible to prepare since the official classification does not correspond to the actual physical settlements. As in Turkey the official classification of settlements tends to group actual villages, hamlets and homesteads in centres of administrative status. The census of 1961 and other sources thus list a total of approximately 5033 settlements. In matters of small settlement the population figures include Tandoos, villages and hamlets.

An examination of the real differentiation in rural settlement throws a considerable light on the characteristics of Sindi society and economy. The first unit we shall examine is the village. For the whole of the known history of Sind the unit of settlement would appear to be the nucleated village. Archaeological investigation e.g. at Kotdiji and Nara valley, shows that for millenia sedentary agriculture in the best watered areas led to the growth of settlement of the nucleated type. Maneck B. Pithawalla maintains that such settlements first appeared in the lower Indus valley in riparian tracts and in land

covered by grass vegetation. Khan Nasser stresses the strength of physical controls and maintains that nucleated villages emerged wherever soil and water supply made cultivation possible.

Today the dominant settlements remain the villages. They considerably differ in their size and pattern sometimes with compact blocks of various sizes and in other cases non-contiguous houses. The villages are generally more compact in the floodplains of Indus.

The archetype of the village is purely residential in the sense that there will be no proper organisation of shops or offices and there may be small scrub-fenced compounds and livestock stabling attached to some houses. In each house complex will live generally a farming family but there are also the dwellings of artisans working on a small scale. Richer farmers and those owning land generally have mud plastered adobe brick residences but these may be interspersed with straw and grass wattle huts. A typical lay out of a house would be of a single storied single line of rooms used for sleeping and cooking etc., facing across a small compound, a small cattle shed, the whole built of mud bricks.

Social organisation within such villages varies greatly. For example in the case of Mari Communities derived from Baluch immigrants in many aspects of life they are indistinguishable from other Sindis, but in their villages there is a headman with traditionally defined duties and responsibilities rather than the more usual council of elders. The Memons have simi-

larly a village organised structure with certain variations. There are also characteristic structures in the case of the Rajor and Bhuttos (see Chapter VI D Family).

At a different level on a smaller scale there is the distinct element of the Gothro. The Gothro consists of a few huts of farmers forming small irregular clusters surrounded by fences and acacia hedges. This hut or hamlet unit, sometimes consisting of two families, sometimes three or more, would seem to have been of recent development and is primarily associated with land fragmentation. From observation and from other studies it would appear that there occurs a certain amount of family fission on the occasion of death of the landowning family patriarch. The extended family may then disintegrate into its component family units. Some of these tend to move to their inherited lands remote from the villages and new hamlets or Gothro appear. This is a continuous and dynamic process so that some Gothro, if sited on road junctions or any other favourable place, may in turn grow into villages and in turn some villages may decline. We may quote here as example Goth Haji Watto in Hyderabad district which developed into a village during the last fifteen years.

At the other extreme we find the Tandoo (an advanced large village type in rural settlement) which is essentially a village but for a variety of reasons including nodality and resource advantage has developed greater variety and range of functions than is normal.

In the case of the Tandoo commerce and business may weaken the village community spirit but in a typical village kinship and castes produce a social unity. In the Tandoo the presence of activity of the sort minifested in workshops, shops etc., together with larger size, produces a near urban economic community in which there may exist quite separately the smaller socio-economic and kinship communities.

Finally the special case of some small settlements must be mentioned, viz., the hamlets of non-agricultural type which often exist on the periphery of urban centres but which are not urban themselves. In appearance such accretions may appear as small groups of shanty town huts inhabited by immigrants to the town, but in fact the people living in them are communities in their own right. Five or six family groups may inhabit an equal number of round, one roomed huts built of temporary materials. Such groups may work as agricultural labourers in harvest time and live on a pseudo hunting and collecting basis hunting tortoises and frogs and small game.

In the traditional dwelling construction and lay-out reflect the mode of life. The timber and the straw huts are very simple, low living standard, one or two roomed shelters for sleeping and little more. Primitive cots and simple rugs are the only furniture and the main fittings are the grain storage jars or "Gundi" and the central hurricane lamp. At an even lower level of existence in town and country some people mainly of the menial class live without permanent shelter, eating and sleeping wherever they can.

The adobe brick houses on the other hand vary in size and sophistication with the status and wealth of the owner. A series of rooms open independently on to a closed compound in which there may also be the distinctive feature of the "Otak". This is a separate room or set of rooms and patio reserved exclusively for males. Male guests and kinsmen are entertained and lodged here in a fashion similar to the traditional use made of the "Köy oda", the village house in rural Turkey. Chairs are kept for important guests and more than usual care is taken with the cots which are used for sitting as well as sleeping. Tenants may be received in the patio and government officials sometimes use these facilities. At marriage and festivals and other ceremonies jugglers and musicians will entertain the males in the "Otak".

Their prime characteristics are first as status symbols to which a great deal of wealth and energy are devoted, secondly, as retiring places for the men, very necessary in large extended families, and thirdly as neutral meeting places for superior and inferior e.g. here the barber may come to cut the hair of the landowner. The otak is often built alongside the livestock stables and barns. An example of the scale of the otak is given below.

This is the property of a big landlord of Mirpurkhas. He also runs a large farm. The otak is fairly big and in some portions "Katcha" (unfired) bricks have been used alongside "Pucca" fired bricks. It contains 12 rooms and four verandas. On the south there are also very big courtyards. The otak has heavy cots and crude tables. Near to the otak there is a barn for the cattle.

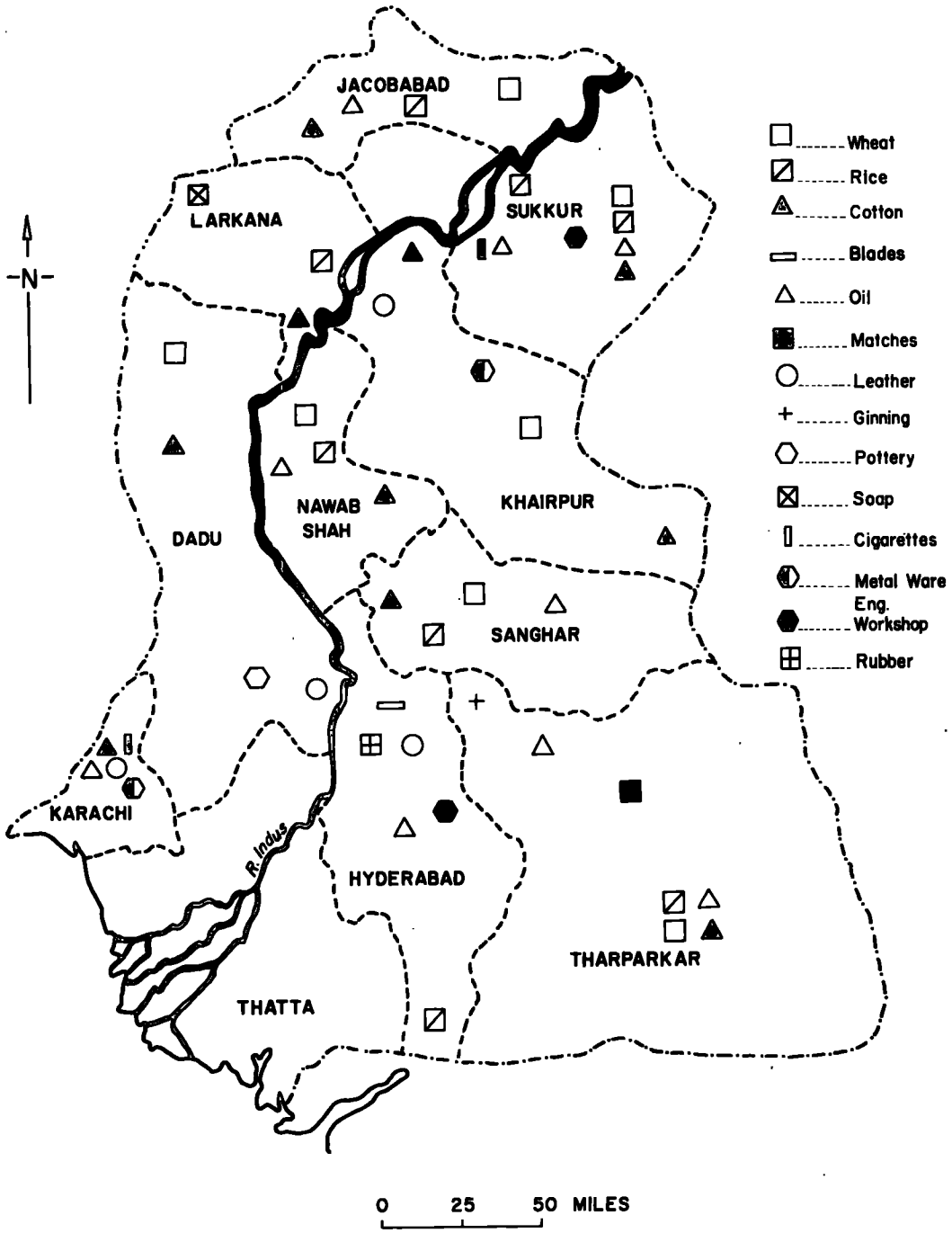
The roof is partly made of straw. The barn has 14 cows and buffalos. Some part of the area is used as a store house. The whole area covers almost half an acre.

When considering some of the aspects of occupations in and the economy of Sind it was noted that strong family, kinship and status ties were associated with occupation groups not only in the tradition governed countryside but also in the towns where economic and social transition has not yet resulted in the replacement of group identity by individualism.

As one would therefore expect, the towns of Sind are urban in forms and functions which reflect social characteristics peculiar to the region.

Populated Sind, essentially the lower Indus plains, differs greatly from the Punjab in the nature of the forms which have affected settlement. As earlier noted, the extreme nature of aridity in Sind, the late development of large scale irrigation and the physiographic and hydrographical controls of irrigation layout have limited the development of agricultural settlement. It has also been the case with urban development that until very recently development has been severely limited. Hyderabad, the only strictly large city after Karachi, was an eighteenth century foundation and its importance derived from the relative success of its political function as capital of Sind. Karachi is essentially a city of the twentieth century and its growth during the last 80 years derives first from its function as a key for the Punjab and

MAP 10. SIND – AGRICULTURE & INDUSTRIES



later as capital, political and economic of West Pakistan. Nowhere else have natural resources or location, nodal or otherwise, or geopolitical forces brought into being fully urban settlement with functions remote from the values of countryside. Almost all towns in Sind therefore are essentially projections and extensions of rural activity, super market towns in fact. It is to an examination of some of these characteristics relevant to the Social geography of Sind that we must now turn.

First, there is the matter of degree of specialization and socio-economic distinctiveness of towns.

As far as manufacturing industry is concerned Karachi is the only urban centre in Sind possessing a full range of installations. In Karachi one finds not only manufacture based on local resources and for local needs but also manufactures dependent on imports, national and regional, of raw materials. In the other towns of Sind manufacturing industry is almost wholly based on local resources and of these products derived from agriculture are supreme, in other words milling of grain and oil seeds, processing of cotton, and the processing of products such as hides (see Map 10). The significance of these industries and of other such as the manufacture of cement products, salt making and timber working in the understanding of social geography of Sind is that this type of industrialisation only to a very small extent implies any revolution in the living habits of the people. As in Russia before 1900 industrialization mainly means the growth of workshops and the continuation of craft industry rather

than the mushrooming of factory industries and the development of a proleterian and managerial class. This of course is only true of the towns of Sind in a relative sense, relative to the fully industrialised cities of Western Europe. Within urban society specialization and individualism are growing but they are not fully developed. Therefore the differences which may be observed between as well as within towns are mainly still of a traditional kind.

In Sukkur district the town of Sukkur is mainly important as a continuing exchange point between Sind and the northwest, Quetta and Afghanistan, and, to the north, the rest of Pakistan. Its trade is mainly in agricultural goods especially dry fruits and craft products.

Nawabshah town is predominently a market town for a prosperous agricultural region which produces cotton, wheat and oil seeds on a commercial scale. To serve the flourishing agricultural hinterland markets and banking facilities are very well developed. Larkana, Khairpur, and Jacobabad are similar regional centres whose main economic functions are based on their immediate agricultural hinterlands. In the case of Hyderabad the functions are predominently similar but larger in range of products handled, of services given and in the larger size of the supporting region.

It is not the purpose of this thesis to consider the order ranking of these towns although this would give some valuable information concerning the urban geography of Sind. The important points for this thesis is that with the exception of Karachi the degree of specialization developed is small and the importance

of socio-economic ties between town and country is large. This is illustrated very clearly in the dominance of trade and the nature of the trade.

It was earlier noted that some large villages have developed a few non-agricultural characteristics, those villages in Sind called Tandoos. Here one may find small groups of shops, perhaps ten to fifteen in number selling vegetables, fertilizers, tea, sugar, and other small necessaries. A hakeem will dispense herbal medicines.

There is usually a small tea shop, a flour mill to which villagers may bring their grain and some small workshops and stalls of arisans. In the Tandoo the range of goods and the size of the stock in these small shops is very limited.

The towns' trade is based on the supply of the less frequently required and the more expensive goods. Here the similarity with different order retail functions in Britain for example is clear. This similarity is however not complete. Since the greatest part of the population is rural and since the range of goods required is restricted then the trade of the town does not differ greatly in type from that of the village. In the case of the Otak we saw that greater wealth resulted in expenditure in ways which were not fundamentally different from that of the poorer farmer. Changes in income, from observations, can be seen not to produce any significant difference in the demand for types of food and furnishing or even personal clothing and adornment.

There is very little widespread demand for consumer durables such as refrigerators and cars etc. There are a variety of reasons for this including the basic one of poverty but among these reasons remains the strength of traditional values such as illustrated by Otak. Among the professional and educated classes such as government officials and service officers then one can note different status symbols affecting expenditure and consumption but because such groups form a minority of the population their effect on the form and pattern of urban activity is restricted.

What we find therefore in most towns is the dominance of the bazars. Broadly speaking a bazar can be described as a major shopping area with concentrated trading, but such a description does not fully describe the bazar as an observable or functional phenomenon.

In bazars as a whole are to be seen different physical forms of retail outlet including the relatively large and sophisticated stores of permanent construction with display windows and specialized serving inside, smaller permanent shops of brick adobe and wood down to the small mobile cart shops or stores. Only in the case of Karachi is there a sufficiently large degree of economic sophistication to have brought into being a homogeneous and clearly defined area of sophisticated shops. In Elphinstone street, wide and straight, there are found such stores and specialised shops carrying a large range of high value goods including garments and jewellery. In form this reflects the street function in serving the relatively wealthy fully urbanised part of the city population. As in any western central

business district the relationship between retailers and shop owners is purely economic and individualistic. In other bazars e.g. in Karachi, Nawabshah and Hyderabad such homogeneity can not be observed. In general a bazar will have a variety of shops serving the basic needs of the people of either one or several districts.

In some cases a whole bazar may be specialized such as Mochi Gali which is devoted to the sale and the manufacture of shoes and Jama cloth market devoted to clothes. Such specialization is however of a different order to that observed in the heart of Elphinstone street, it is rather the logical extreme of the grouping together of like interest which one finds in non specialized bazars. In the non specialised bazars then one finds general variety and local special groupings so that the fruit sellers, shoe shops, grain sellers, carpenters etc., will tend to concentrate, each group in its own precinct. The second characteristic which these two types of bazars have in common is that the shops also have workshops. What one therefore sees in the complicated alleyways of Bori bazar in Karachi or in the circular lay-out Chakra bazar of Nawabshah are areas of combined craft industries (i.e. not factories) and retail trade.

This basic characteristic is true of the traditional bazars of Asia and parts of Africa and Latin America. As well as this variety of grouping there is often a great variety of building construction while the mobile cart stores usually selling vegetables and fruits add to the apparent complexity. Differences in prices as between the different elements in the bazars reflect

the nature of the market served. Near the wealthy residential areas in a few large cities and, for instance, near the diplomatic and business quarters of Karachi e.g. Housing society, Mohammod Ali Society, shops tend to be more specialized and the prices for comparable products are also much higher than in bazars. In the bazars proper the grouping of the shop and work-shop of like type ensures a certain amount of uniformity of price.

It must be noted however that with the increase in demand for imported goods and periodic restrictions on imported goods and raw materials, black market trading sometimes pushes up prices in some establishment selling e.g. motor tyres, cloth and pharmaceuticals. Here again, as in the case of shops and stalls localized around the numerous cinemas, then we find individual responses to the special opportunities. For our purpose the important point here is that in the traditional towns the traditional bazars are not only collections of economic individualists but of certain small communities who make as well as sell craft goods and services. As we noted in Chapter IV there are strong non-economic links in such occupation groups and their relationships contain kinship, language, religion and status elements.

In rural Sind one can still find a progression of traditional settlement characteristics. In the smallest type Gothro life is agricultural and society consists of a few family groups. In the village life is dominated by agriculture but there will be some non-farming inhabitants e.g. small artisans. The number of family groups is larger and there will be some variety in occupational and status communities. When one comes to the Tandoos

and small town level the number of farming families is proportionately less but it is not yet possible to devise a numerical threshold at which functional changes become significant.

As Emrys Jones has pointed out in "Town and Cities", English mining villages may have only between 10 and 40% of employed population working in mining[9].

The significant point is that while the large villages and small towns may have considerable reputations for cottage industries and these may each be associated with occupational and status groups, the social matrices important to these communities and to their component families are the same as those which exist in agriculture communities and families. In this sense therefore only in a very few settlements of this size is a pre-industrial society being changed.

Lastly there are the few large towns and cities in which the increase in the range of function is accompanied by addition to the still dominant traditional social matrices of new values particularly associated with individualist enterprize and a small degree of conservatism. Thus in Karachi in particular and in Hyderabad etc., to a lesser extent we find factory industry and craft industry, non specialist and specialist bazars together with central business districts, shops and offices. These are physical manifestations of the co-existence in those cities of both old and new Sindi Societies.

The question again emerges as to whether there is sufficient continuity in this process of change for the Sindi community as a whole to remain distinct and with a surviving homogenity of social matrices or whether the present situation will produce a sophisticated urban society divorced from a stagnating tradional country side.

As yet the physical separation of residential groups mainly develops on traditional lines. As with the bazar units it is normal for occupational and status groups to live in zones peculiar to themselves. This can be recognised in village as well as in town and areal separation of caste/class also exists. From observation it has been noted that in Tharparkar region one may find in rural areas separate "Mohallas" (districts in English sense) for each caste in the same village. In the Tandoo type village a definite tendency prevails for leading castes to be settled in a specified area of the Tandoo in order to preserve their own identification. In the towns of Sind there are Mohallas which are termed Hindu Mohallas. This apparent fragmentation is also typical of Indian villages but in Sind it is rather of different order.

In Nawabshah one can observe this carried into modern terms with the grouping of some residences of advocates and other professional men. In the following chapter we turn to a consideration of those characteristics of Sindi society which will either prove flexible or provide continuity or will on some occasion break and produce new cleavages between communities; the traits which lie beneath the forms of village and of towns.

CHAPTER V

Appendix 8

Displaced Persons, Census of India 1951.

West and Central India.

Bombay	2,77,267
Saurashtra	50,102
Kutch	10,216
Madhya Pradesh	75,288
Madhya Baharat	37,332
Hyderabad	2,325
Bhopal	11,775
Vindhya Pradesh	11,217
Rajastan	1,03,884
Ajmer	46,914

CHAPTER V

Appendix 9

Population of towns in Sind.
(size greater than 5,000 excluding Karachi).
Census of Pakistan 1961.

Hyderabad	4,34,537
Sukkur	1,03,216
Mirpurkhas	60,861
Shikarpur	53,910
Larkana	48,008
Nawabshah	45,651
Jacobabad	35,278
Khairpur	34,144
TandoAdam	31,246
Shadadpur	21,537
Kotri	20,262
Dadu	19,142
Rorhi	19,072
Tando Allahyar	17,273
Tando Mohd Khan	15,536
Shahdadkot	15,043
Thatta	12,786
Kandhkot	12,253
Kambar	12,090
Hala	11,956
Matli	10,496
Sanghar	10,153
Moro	10,019
Badah	8,916

Pirjo Goth	8,394
Sinjhoro	7,388
Ratodero	7,201
Tando Jam	7,149
Ghotki	6,956
Jhudo	6,950
Mehrabpur	6,862
Digri	6,853
Badin	6,387
Matiari	6,306
Pano Akil	6,282
Jamesabad	6,027
Umerkot	5,878
Gambat	5,646
Tharoo Shah	5,358
Mehar	5,150
Sujawal	5,086
Kunri	5,005
Garhi Yasin	5,184

SECTION III

CHAPTER VI A

The Sindi Community

The Sindi Community is a group of people who speak the Sindi language, wear Sindi dress, have Sindi customs and a Sindi way of life. Nevertheless we see that in spite of an overriding unity there are diversities for example on the basis of religion and region, moreover in urban communities the social outlook is different from that of rural communities.

In the field of religion is well illustrated the different levels on which communities of different scales exist. For example within the Hindu population there exist the distinct groups of Thakurs, Lohanas, and Brahmins while among Muslims there are, on the same scale, the groups of Rajors, Dahri, Mari, Memons, Bhutto's etc. These in the case of the Hindu groups may be referred to as castes in the normal English sense while in the Muslim case they essentially reflect social bonds linking members of a group who have the same lineage, often the same surname and ideally these are endogamous groups.

Nevertheless in so far as endogamy goes with birth status distinction in the Hindu groups and a certain distinction of occupation and status is associated with family based endogamy on the Muslim side, all these groups in practice exist on similar levels of distinctness at which differences between Hindus and Muslims are less important than caste/class endogamous group differences.

Each of the groups is in fact a community within a larger community. Most of this section of the thesis is devoted to an examination of the characteristics of this larger community and of the cross-cleavages within it and some of these characteristics and cleavages can be related to the preceding section on economic organisation. Occupation becomes of more than purely economic importance and we can properly talk not only of the agricultural community but of a carpenter community, silver smith, and goldsmith communities, a barber community and even a government servants community. Clearly the degree of distinctiveness varies from group to group but the tendency towards group identification and self-identification is very strong.

So that while true caste is dying except as a distinction between menials and others, there continues to prosper the distinction between groups of different interest these distinctions emphasised by the continuing strength of endogamy within these small community groups. The position is changing and endogamy is weaker than in the past and the whole matter must also be regarded as in a transition phase. At one level then there exists these groups, at another level there exists the Sindi community within which a variety of social matrices operate such as language, the joint family system, and Panchayat, entertainments, diet, customs, etc., etc., and it is these we must now turn. Quotations and specific examples are derived from personal field investigation.

CHAPTER VI B

Religion

In Sind, both at present and for centuries past followers of Hinduism and of Islam have lived together in the region not only with natural toleration but with considerable similarities in their attitude to religion and in their religious practices notwithstanding the fundamental theological differences between the two creeds.

In general one can say that the attitude of Sindhis as a whole toward religion is not speculative, philosophical or fanatical. Submissiveness, faith and devotion are the main elements which characterise their religious life.

The influence of the Pir (saint) in Sind is more apparent than, and traditionally it is rather of a different character to, that found in other regions of West Pakistan.

The Pir effectively can do no wrong and even when clear cases of abuse of their position by the Pirs such as kidnapping or abduction are known then such wrongs are attributed to other forces.

To the Sindhi his saint or pir is sacred and as in the case of lineage is both the ultimate target in abusive arguments and the most savagely revenged of any offence. Such is the influence of the Pirs that government itself feels hesitation in taking steps against them.

As an example of the degree of power and veneration which is held by pir one may quote from one interview with Ahmad Husain Khan Rajor in the district Mirpurkhas.

The Rajor Caste has its own particular saints the chief of which in the 1940's was Pir Pagaro. During World War II he disappeared and since it was held that this was the result of government action, a rebellion broke out among the Rajors. A descendent of Pir Pagaro Pir Sikander Ali Shah has had his and his forbear's political status now recognised by the present government and has been given a seat of power and jurisdiction (called "Gadi" in local terms) at Pirjogot in Khairpur district.

It is in the attitude to the dead saints that the strength of underlying mysticism particularly appears. In many regions of the world, in Christian Santiago de Compostela, in Durham and in Islamic Turkey and Iran shrines of saints have all been given mystical respect but in Sind this appears in a more extreme and striking form than anywhere else. The saints' tombs become centres of symbolic significance particularly identified with the Sindis and felt by them to be symbolic of their own distinctiveness.

Every year people of all kind flock to the tombs of their particular saints to do homage but there is also a constant stream of those who seek help. The tombs themselves are usually covered with embroidered clothes and must be approached with ceremonial greetings by the "Suali" (the man who requests help). The tomb of the great saint of Sind, Lal Shahbaz for example is approached by Muslims with the following words:

Plate 7

"Oh Qalander (saint) you are a spiritual man of this world. I request that you fulfill my wishes and remove my difficulties. In your honour I will distribute food to the needy people".

Significantly, much the same invocation is used by Hindus who worship the same saint (at the same shrine) under the name of Bhartari Raja. Shah Abdul Lateef is another significant personality who was the great sage of 18th century. The other great saint who is held in the great mystic regard by both Hindus and Muslims is Zindah Pir. All through Sind runs this same regional unity under the overlying superficial diversity. At the shrines are also held fairs "mela" the most important of which are listed below.

Fair of Bhit Shah	Bhit Shah
Mela of Sachal Sarmast	
Mela Guro Gareeb Das	Gouspur
Fair Shah Khair Uddin Jilani	Sukkur
Fair Fazul Shah Jilani	Bagargi
Fair Shah Maqsud	Rorhi
Fair Haji Shah Ismail	Kambar
Jamman Shah Mela	Mirpurrkhas
Cheti Chand Mela	Guddu Bunder
Lal Shahbaz	Sewan

Sindis sing mystic songs at those melas and pray for their prosperity; barren women also gathered in large numbers and various ritual ceremonies are done on these tombs.

Mystical respect is generally not only paid by Sindis to their own pirs but also to those of others, both alive and dead. Since in the countryside oral tradition is strongest some confusion can become attached to the location of the graves of the pirs. Since also desecration of such graves is a fearsome matter most people play for safety. Under Kandi trees for instance one may find graves marked by cloth festooned branches or several clay jugs. Credulity may also be taken advantage of by "Bhopos", self styled holy men who will play on the fears and beliefs of illiterate and poorer groups and create new mystical legends for their own advantage. Graves can then become the nucleii of new local mysticism which particularly affect womenfolk.

Sindis' common traits are also found in their beliefs in supernatural elements and they seem to have inherited most of the superstitions of the human race. Their life has become very much restricted as a result of these beliefs, examples of which follow.

The presence ofasweeper on the road while on the way to work is sufficient to disturb men's minds as because it is considered to be an inauspicious sign for the families. When a Sindi finds that his right eye isthrobbing he feels happy and it is supposed to be a sign of good luck. But the throbbing of the left eye creates apprehension in his mind as bad luck. awaits him. The meeting with a corpse if one is going for some work is a happy sign and similarly a hiccough is a good sign since it means that a friend is remembering. There are certain beliefs about certain days.

Some days are lucky and some are unlucky. Belief in dreams is a general phenomenon and old people are relied upon. Sindis also believe in the significance of the action of the birds and animals for their future. The hooting of an owl is very bad and the calling of partridge is a good sign in the forenoon on the left and is bad on the right. If the donkey brays from the left side at a time of departure on a journey this is a good omen. Ghosts are also an important element in the supernatural element in Sindi life. In general such beliefs are strongest among the more ignorant country people and this may serve to illustrate the difference in status between the Pirs (saints) and Bhopos. To generalize one may say that the more devout and thoughtful people, if troubled by a belief that ghosts and spirits are haunting them will most often consult and pray to a Pir whose advice will generally be religious in character and will stress religious devotion. The more ignorant masses are more easily affected by beliefs of ghostly powers and spirit possession and they will tend to consult Bhopos. The Bhopos rely more on pseudomagic, at an African witch doctor level, e.g. after the reading of some mantras the Bhopo will question the spirit through the medium of person affected. It is believed in this crude psycho-analysis that the answers and the explanation will come from the spirit, all this being carried out in a potion-induced mediumistic trance into which the patient has fallen. The magic power of the Bhopos staff is then used to beat the spirits out of the patient.

In Sindi communities the spirits of the dead are believed to haunt particular places such as graveyards,

cemeteries, ruined houses and places where accidents have happened. These are earth bound spirits very like man in some respects: they require food and are said to be fond of fruits; they wear clothes obtained through magic and possess sexual desires. Although not normally visible they can sometimes be seen under proper conditions taking the form of generally old women and children but distinguished by four instead of five fingers. Their powers are evil, not good.

The main difference in this field between Muslim and Hindus is that in addition Muslims believe in Jinnies who are quite distinct from man and God and for whose existence there is Quranic authority while in the case of Hindus the personification of gods, in the form of animals, is extended to produce a group of animal spirits. This goes still further in the Pipal tree which is regarded by the Hindus as an abode of spirits. This is not the place to consider the elements in and the characteristics of Hinduism and Islam. There are clear and fundamental doctrinal differences and in Sind the different communities will observe their separate festivals independent of each other and there is of course the difference in status of two religions resulting from the fact that Pakistan is officially an Islamic state therefore the main Muslim festivals are the national holidays while those of Hindus are observed by themselves only.

In this examination of a few aspects of religion and mystical belief it is possible to note some features significant to Sindi Society. First the toleration characteristic of Islam exists both generally

at the official level and in the predominant rural life. It is striking to observe how the strains of partition, involving as it did, death and the displacement of people have not broken that measure of unity which exists in the basic pattern of life in Sind. Secondly the common elements of mysticism are closely associated themselves with the forces of family, kinship and caste/endogamy.

In conclusion we can say that as with other aspects of the society there are many matrices as well as lines of cleavage. Sind unlike e.g. Punjab has never been a major area of historic religious conflict. Relatively isolated and with material life based on the over-whelming importance of slowly developing village agriculture, the society of Sind as a whole has tended towards toleration and a certain amount of homogeneity. This together with other aspects such as language etc., helps to make Sind distinct from other regions.

CHAPTER VI C

Language

At several points in this thesis the factor of language as one of the factors which gives Sind a regional distinctiveness has already been mentioned.

In West Pakistan as in East Pakistan and in India the distribution and use of language is very complex.

In this note no attempt is made to explore fully the matter of language as such it being considered more relevant here merely to note a few of the salient points relevant to Sindi society. Matters of terminology, nomenclature etc., are more properly associated with the main topics of other chapters.

According to the last census 1961 the population of people using the Sindi language as their mother tongue was estimated as following in the districts of Sind:-

Karachi district	8.55%
Hyderabad district	62,35%
Dadu district	78.38%
Tharparkar district	71.85%
Sanghar district	57.17%
Thatta district	93.49%
Sukkur district	78.60%
Jacobabad	56.42%
Khairpur	79.71%
Nawab Shah	72.84%
Larkana	79.94%

The predominance of Sindi language is clear from the above table while it may be further illustrated from the fact that in Sind 300,000 persons are literate in Sindi. As Wilber points out "In the former province of Sind including Khairpur three times as many persons claim to be literate in Sindi as in Urdu making this the only area of West Pakistan where literacy in a vernacular language exceeds that in Urdu." The non-Sindi character of Karachi is also clearly demonstrated from the above table; this is due to very many facts chief among which is the impact of partition. Many Hindu Sindis who were the bulk of the population of Karachi migrated to India and Muslim migrants from India who claim Urdu as their mother tongue replaced them. The census figure for 1961 now shows that 53.9% of the Karachi population claim Urdu as mother tongue.

In Sind the numerical trend in usage of Sindi language cannot be precisely stated. In the first place changing administrative boundries make it difficult to compare the regions through time. Secondly since independence and particularly during the time that Karachi was the capital of Sind a considerable influx of people from India and various parts of Pakistan with their mother tongue Urdu, Punjabi, Pashto, Baluchi, Bengali, came not only to Karachi but also to all the cities of Pakistan. This was partly a change of the type which we associate with urbanization and in this sense this is a normal element in socio-economic changes which are affecting Sind as a whole. But it was also in part a temporary trend and connected with the administrative status of the capital. Again records do not allow us to separate these observable differences. Thirdly by far most important were the results of the large scale trans-

ference of the population during partition. The basic facts are here as follows.

A large number of Hindus left Sind for India and this generally represented a nett loss to Sindi speakers. On the other hand there was a considerable emigration of Muslims from India most of them were not Sindi speakers as we noted above. The writer's family is an example of this later movement. Again there are no records of what has developed from this situation and its investigation would be a full time topic of research. However, from personal observations the following points can be noted. First, the relatively small numbers of migrants which settled in the country side seem to have rapidly acquired a working knowledge and use of Sindi. This was clearly necessary for the survival of individuals and small groups. Secondly the very much larger number of the refugees who moved to the large towns were affected in a more complex way. In some cases refugees arrived as displaced communities and, also given the endogamous element in occupation grouping, specially at non-professional levels, clung together and kept their own group identities. In this effort the clinging to the pre-partition language was and is important specially to the older generation.

In those urban cases where communities were small or where the status of occupation and class was relatively higher then the assimilation of these groups has proceeded to a much greater extent. Again from personal experience the writer can quote typical cases of children of such refugees deliberately being sent

to schools where Sindi was taught as a main subject. The conscious selection of a school is of course in itself an indication that the family concerned were of relatively high status.

To some extent therefore the question of changes in language used becomes associated with social mobility and status level. Schematically one might differentiate between the largest group of unskilled labourers whose response to transference would be a conservative clinging to the remaining part of their old culture especially language, and, at the other extreme, a partly cosmopolitan landowning or professional family aware of the need for adapting to a new situation, setting fairly high store on education and with already weakened traditional family ties would become a bilingual group.

It is earlier mentioned that compared with other regions of Pakistan, Sind has not been very greatly affected by major population movements throughout history, in a relative sense, although various changes affecting language have of course occured. For Sind the impact of partition-caused migration has been very great ; relatively for instance to the effect on Punjab. When one realises that this impact has been occuring at the same time as urbanization and industrialization then the point made earlier, that Sind is in part at least in a state of abnormal flux is further emphasised. It is yet too early to measure the effect on language but from observation one can say that the Sindi language is adopting loan words and a few other elements from Urdu etc., and as with society as a whole then something new may emerge. Conversely Sindi

remains least changed in the country-side from migration movement.

Note: Up to very recent times the Sindi language has been one of the regionally unifying forces with strong roots in the past. Generally it is regarded as originating from "Prakrit", an early dialect of Sanskrit. It is closely related to Landha or Western Punjabi and is grouped with Dardic the language found in Swat state.

The other notable features of this language are the use of prenominal suffixes on a wide scale and its irregular past participles of verbs. Every word ends with a vowel and its affection for double consonants is also noticeable.

In general the conjugation of Sindi verbs are associated with Hindi and other languages but the distinctive characteristics of Sindi can be seen in its formation of tenses through participle of verbs. The use of the present participle to form the future indicative is another distinct character of the language. Unlike Hindi the past conditional tense is not used.

Loan words from Arabic and Persian are widely used in Sindi.

Like many other Indo Aryan languages the use of compound verbs completives is quite common. The other element is the dominant use of the passive voice.

Regional factors similar to other aspects of Sind also affect its language which one can find in various structures of dialects. Siraiki, Datki, Kachchhi are quite prominent. Siraiki element exists in Sindi language towards the region of upper Sind and Datki and Kachhi are noted in the eastern desert including Cutch area. There is a strong influence on these dialects by Rajastani and Gujrati; more primitive still is the dialect of Mari.

On the basis of the above points it is easy to conclude that the Sindi language is a reflection of the country's geography and history.

CHAPTER VI D.

The Family

The typical form of the family in Sind rural organisation is the joint family system. It is an extended kin group including husband and wife and their married and unmarried sons and daughters. It may have also widowed sisters and aunts. The notable feature of this unit is this that it is a fluctuating body which expands by birth and decreases by death and migration. The joint family is reinforced by religion and custom and has certain characteristics which are linked with the social life of Sind.

The structure of the family is male-orientated and lineal descent is the main criterion of deciding membership in the family. Mostly it is reckoned through the male line except in the community named "od" where matriarchy exists. The lineage consists of all persons who are related by blood through the male line. Sindis are very conscious of their family tree. The lineage is the chief factor for getting support and security in the family and rights of inheritence and transfers of family titles are determined by lineage.

The kinship terms are the co-ordinating links between the members of the family.

Traditionally males are categorised inherently as occupying a superior position.

The eldest member of the family is the superior authority of the organisation. He is the main link in the chain unifying the components of the family and is the protector of its well being. He is entitled to receive a complete and blind obedience from the members of his family. He has the privilege of deciding matters of family issue and his presence is essential at the time of various ritual ceremonies. The head tries to develop cooperation and mutual understanding amongst the members of the family.

An axial relationship in Sindi families exists between father and the sons, mainly with the eldest son, who traditionally inherits the duties of the father. On the death of the head, the duties are devolved to his eldest son provided he is of sound mind and has no defect in his lineage. Like his father he represents the family in the community and Panchayat. He is supposed to be responsible for all ceremonial obligations. The transfer of power takes place in a traditional way. According to traditions Pagri (turban) is passed on in the presence of elderly persons and responsible family members as a traditional recognition of the transference of duties.

Women are a secondary part of the family organisation. Men are the dominant sex being considered more wise and responsible. (There is a belief held by the males in the countryside that women have their sense in their left heel).

The position of the women is determined in society by her qualities for child procreation and by the position of her husband and also her father. The head's wife is entitled to a great respect from the

other womenfolk. In the joint family the position of the wife of the head is very important. She keeps the purse of the family and also controls the kitchen, sanitation of the house etc.

The inheritance of the family property is guided by Muslim and Hindu law and according to traditional rules of Sind in the communities. Hindus invariably divide the property between all the claimants according to Hindu law. The girls who in Hindu societies are not entitled to get shares in the property of their father receive a good dowry.

In Muslim families girls receive a share from the father's property. But in some big families and in some other groups the woman is kept completely deprived of her share and even her name is not entered in the property papers.

Sindi family values take into account the distinctive personality traits of members. Personal ability is appreciated and people have also some sense of humour and ready wit. Field investigation in Nawabshah for example brought to light the special status given to the younger brother of Shahbaz Mari who is specially reputed for his good sense of humour, for relating interesting Sindi stories and in playing the "Ek-Tara" (musical instrument). (The older brother has a very good reputation for shooting). In another family of this community Haq Nawaz is famous in reciting film songs. In a Bhutto family at Karachi Abdul Haq knows very good Sindi and people on most of the evenings

come to his house to listen to Sindi legends and Sindi Kafi. His father was very skilled in reciting poetry in Sindi. Everywhere individuals of this kind have considerable local reputations even in urbanised communities. Nobility in character and tolerance in temperament are the favourite virtues. Bad characters are disowned by their families and are quoted as warnings by the parents when their children do any wrong. A young man who is addicted to wine and fond of gambling and prostitution is treated as a bad example.

A real example may be given of the situation which can arise. Abdul Gaffar of Karachi had three sons one of whom was irreclaimably given to indulgence with wine and prostitutes. Both within the family and in the community this son became a notorious example of behaviour to be avoided. At one extreme therefore we find certain virtues exalted, particularly those which strengthen the traditional family unit. Given the strains found within the normal extended family then individualism and personal status seeking can be held in low regard while tolerance, acceptance of the "status quo" and belief in and practice of traditional "mores" are equated with nobility. The Sindi community as a traditional entity is also best served by these virtues. At the other extreme, ignoble, "anti-social" behaviour becomes defined as those things which weaken the family - inter-relationships, psychologically as well as materially and this may lead to the rejection of the individual by the family and by extension, also by Sindi community itself.

The social life of the families is based upon certain family rules. The aged persons get priority

over the younger and very considerable effort is taken to preserve the dignity and the nobility of the family. In spite of quarrels and dissensions the people live together in the same house, under the same roof. When bad feelings exist individuals may not speak with each other but parents and various ceremonies generally try to unite them. The factors which give birth to these rifts and quarrels between women-folk most of the time are very petty matters. Quarrels between the males are on the other hand sometimes very serious. Factionalism exists both in rural and urban families. Land possession is one of the main elements in economic and social status in the agriculture groups and disputes concerning it therefore mostly result in tension, conflict and even murder.

In such communities disputes and aggression break out in special forms. Any challenge to authority meets with violent reaction and given the importance of lineage and status then abuse and bad language often centres on challenging purity of lineage particularly through abusing mothers and sisters.

The notable thing which is marked in Sindi people is the consciousness of common nationality. In rural areas most families use the term Sindi in the sense of nation. This conception is the dominant unifying link in joining them in spite of very many religious and cultural cleavages. In order to show the feelings of being Sindi they speak their own language and demonstrate their culture even when in an alien cultural environment.

The people are in the habit of strengthening their collective self-identification in conversation and comment when they talk in their family functions. This collective self-identification is particularly strong in rural areas and country-folk will take this to the point of stressing differences between their community and urban cosmopolitanism. A few rural statements made to the writer are listed here:-

"We are sincere and simple and we can not understand the diplomatic and selfish attitudes of urban people. They never say anything clearly, their manners are very peculiar and they are losing all the cultural treasure of their forefathers".

"Look at their women they are bold and brave and have no shyness".

This critical attitude is of course indicative of the transition through which Sindi life is passing and it is the danger which is mostly frequently stressed.

Every family is recognised in its "bradri". Bradri is counted as a whole group of those who claim a common ancestor. Its members co-operate with each other and the act of any one family within the bradri or clan reflects on the others.

Such groups assemble for marriage, death and other social occasions. In a rather broad sense bradri are the kindred of the wife and husband. According to some informants bradri can be a group of people who are not kin but have a similarity in their occupations such as the Tonga Wallah community, gold smiths and

silver smiths, artisan etc.

This exemplifies the point made in Section II where it was noted that economic occupation communities have also non-economic ties. Here we see how kinship ties can be diluted and broadened to cover economic ties.

The feelings of collective honour and collective security are the main elements of bradri. Quarrels with non bradri members raise the feelings of collective honour and the group consciousness among bradri members becomes very active if other members are badly treated by non-bradri members. In family gatherings the participation of bradri members adds prestige in the eyes of the strangers. Members who are not in good terms within the bradri are criticised.

"Panchayat" is also a very important institution to rural families. The members of bradri compose the Panchayat by mutual consultation. Panchayat is a rural organisation of justice which controls groups of families. The main job of the panchayat is to formulate certain rules for the members of the community and families are expected to abide by these rules. It settles disputes and acts as censor of morals of its members. Generally only serious matters are referred to Panchayat while petty matters of the families are settled by the respective heads of the families. Gambling and drinking and serious property matters are decided in Panchayat. In order to establish the moral position of the members of the community it enforces certain types of social sanction

and moral pressure. Sometimes it has the power to repeal or change customs. It can fix punishments for not conforming to the social rules.

In Tandoo Adam people report there was a custom of the burial of dead children of Hindus instead of cremation but Panchayat put an end to this. When any matter becomes too intractable to settle in Panchayat it is presented to the pirs (saints) whose decision nobody challenges.

In Sind the composition of Panchayat varies according to the arrangement of the communities. In Rajor Muslim communities people select by mutual consent an influential and popular man as their head who looks after their interests. In Memons and Maris elections are held in a more organised way and this was also found in Hindu groups although this was disturbed by partition. In some communities the Panchayat may select a sub-committee which settles disputes, this is called a board of Amins.

When there is any outbreak of serious epidemics like small pox or any other troubles like flood, locust attacks or major thefts the Panchayat may assume further administrative and quasi-legal functions for the common benefit of the community and applies moral pressure on the members and its part in the political field is also significant. When there is any complaint against any government official the matter is decided by the head of the Panchayat. At the time of political elections the Panchayat will usually form a common policy of support and members will agree to vote in unity.

Since the family is important then the status of non-family members also has significance and formal attitudes to guests have become highly developed.

The attitudes of Sindis towards the guests are hospitable and they treat them as a blessing of God. The respect which a Sindi gives to his guests is very typical. As soon as the guest arrives all the members of the family usually go to receive him. In some cases it is common for them to send their conveyance which is either horse or camel.

Everybody including the head avoids chaffing talk especially when the guest is a stranger and is formal with them. His bed, his food is superior to others. During the night, for the entertainment of the guest, they sometimes sing songs accompanied by the local instruments.

The Sindi way of greeting a fellow Sindi is also very typical. In such situations they use their colloquial expression:

Welcome	ڀلي آيو
How are you?	احوال ڏيو
Quite well	چاق چٻگا ٻلا
Mercy of God	خدا جو فضل آهي

In form this is a special characteristic of Sind which distinguishes it with other communities. Sometimes one to one and a half hours can be spent on enquiring only about the welfare of each other.

In these and other forms of etiquette the family asserts its strength in respecting the "alien" character of the visitor.

We have already noted in earlier chapters that recent changes in economic opportunity have occured notably with the growth of Karachi and that these changes affect the nature of the family structure.

From personal observation one can state that in the towns where professional and modern urban employment has been growing rapidly there is a trend towards nuclear type and single person families although in a big city like Karachi and Hyderabad the family individualism is increasing rapidly. The extended family in towns is breaking down but still its hold is strong in the country-side.

In towns, greater diversity of activity produces at all levels greater demands for a greater range of occupations. Administrative, clerical and educational opportunities are now increasingly available for well educated men and women in their 20's.

These are by training least inclined to accept all aspects of traditional family respect and authority relationships and they now have opportunities of becoming self-reliant and leaving the family. At the same time factory industry and service industries are demanding employees and producing employment opportunities even at the menial levels.

For the employees a new regularity and new loyalties are demanded which to a varying extent, conflict with traditional family behaviour patterns.

Life becomes more impersonal and less parochial and it is the family which takes the main impact of

these forces and which suffers the greatest social strain.

At the end of this chapter the extent to which urbanization is affecting the district of Sind is shown in Appendix 10. Still there is a great dominance of rural population as the figures indicate in Appendix 11. Urbanization is affecting the demographic situation not only in Sind but also the whole of West Pakistan Province. As a result the population in the important towns is increasing and the less significant towns showing a trend of decentralization. There are 18 towns in West Pakistan which show a decrease in their numbers of 1951 to 1961. This phenomenon is however, not very significant in Sind relatively to other towns of West Pakistan. In Sind only Garhi Yasin town in Sukkur district shows a decrease of 7%.

There are also groups who have moved due to other reasons such as factionalism or social and economic grounds and as a result of the pressure of the parents.

Ecological factors also lead to migration, though this is a seasonal phenomenon and the bulk of the population moves back. But there are groups who, attracted by the city life, do not go back and work as labourers and in some other categories. The seasonal mobility takes place from desert and hilly areas to barrage areas when there is no rain. In Nawabshah district the seasonal migration from across the river to the district is strongest in the days of monsoons in the hill region, Sewhan. The people bring their cattle for food and fodder. Their women and children work in the houses and also in the farms. In Larkana

district a few nomadic groups of families in winter come down from the hills in the interior of the district and work on the land and factories up till the end of the season. These tendencies are creating erosion in the structure of the rural families.

In urban areas there are joint families but in modern families trend is towards nuclearization. A young and educated man does not like the idea of joint family. Such groups not only disfavour the joint family but also dislike the idea of very many children. They think that many children are a handicap to the economic prosperity of the family.

Of other factors which are bringing change amongst them are changes affecting individual status i.e. the economic independence of the adult son which has diminished the authoritarian control of the father. There are also marked changes in the status of the women. Western education and modernization are bringing a change in the mental set up of the married couple and the relationship between women and men is becoming something like partnership. The traditional barriers are losing their force. In cosmopolitan families the women are also moving to the academic fields, side by side with the men. In urban communities women are doctors, women are nurses and women are teachers and they are even members of the offical staff of the government in big cities.

In Sind both in rural and urban areas there are also such families who follow every command of prophet Mohammod and do not give any liberty to the women.

"Pardah" (veil) is the normal condition of life for a woman, in many families she is confined in the house and her job is to look after the house and procreation of children. Pardah is a way of achieving prestige. It symbolises the traditional dignity and piety of the family.

The urban families do not have the Panchayat institution and people are directly linked up with secular courts. In rural areas also the bonds of Panchayat are being loosened. By the effect of partition Hindu Panchayat organisation was especially badly affected. In Jacobabad specially in settled areas the authority of some Sardars (heads) has been split up and the people want direct government protection. Education is also giving a set back to Panchayat as educated minds will not accept its bondage. There are therefore many diversities to be seen in this transitional stage in the intellectual and physical set up of the families. The families in urban communities are educated and an intelligentsia is appearing in urban areas. The womenfolk are sophisticated and have academic abilities. But in rural communities the families are mostly illiterate and simple in their mental attitudes.

The outlook of the rural families is not broad being much concerned with the necessities of life. The people are honest in both urban and rural families and always ready to help their neighbours. But in big cities like Karachi and Hyderabad one can easily find such family groups who are different in their nature and less co-operative. In spite of being of the same caste and in close residential proximity they only occasionally meet with each other.

In urban cosmopolitan families the hospitality traits are also changing. The rural traditional etiquettes are fading and new hospitable etiquettes are emerging. The people do not show the typical rural formalities which their forefather used to show to the guest nor has the guest any symbolic significance.

In traditional Sind therefore one might say that the family, the lineage group, the clan are the strong points of the society. All attitudes to non-members of these groups are coloured by the fact that they are in this sense alien. In urban societies individuals rather than groups are fighting for self identification. Therefore etiquettes and formalities now become professionally rather than family based.

In the later examination of kinship these problems of personal relationship are considered.

Within the family one must note some points concerning the position of the children. As noted later the relationship between siblings has its own rules. Between parents and children one finds the normal informal relationships but also certain formal arrangements. Very young children are given all the protection possible. The differences in the treatment between boys and girls appear from birth, the boys being reared more carefully. But there are some variations in the families where the system of the purchase of the bride exists.

Young girls are held in high regard in Sind. Among Sindi Hindus a young girl is often termed Niani or Devi -

equal to one hundred Brahmins. Virginity is of great importance particularly for the performance of Hindu rites.

Sons on the other hand early become associated with the father's occupation. In most of the families the trend of the parents is to train the child in their traditional occupations in rural Sind. Even in urban educated sections the parents have the same bent of mind. But there are families that now believe children should adopt a different line of career.

In general it has been observed that with the growth in urbanization there has come greater diversity in the ways of treating children whether in punishment, training or degree of independence given them. The behaviour of the children themselves indicates the great and growing difference between traditional agricultural and craft industrial countryside and the few large towns.

CHAPTER VI D.

Appendix 10

Relative registered increase in urbanization in Sind 1961 over 1951.

Hyderabad	76.54%
Nawabshah	161.02%
Larkana	68.72%
Dadu	67.63%
Sukkur	45%
Sanghar	92.20%
Karachi	79%
Jacobabad	133.55%
Khairpur	110.67%

Source - Population Census of Pakistan 1961 - District Census Reports.

CHAPTER VI D.

Appendix 11

Distribution of rural and urban population in Sind - by District Census Report 1961.

Karachi	
urban	rural
93.6%	6.4%
Jacobabad	
urban	rural
11%	89.0%
Dadu	
urban	rural
11.3%	88.7%
Sanghar	
urban	rural
16.4%	83.6%
Nawabshah	
urban	rural
12.9%	87.1%
Larkana	
urban	rural
16.2%	83.8%

Sukkur	
urban	rural
25.5%	74.5%
Hyderabad	
urban	rural
40.0%	60.0%
Khairpur	
urban	rural
9.8%	90.2%
Thatta	
urban	rural
5.8%	94.2%
Tharparkar	
urban	rural
12.9%	87.1%

Source - Census of Pakistan Population 1961, Vol. 3., Ministry of Home and Kashmeer Affairs Government of Pakistan, Karachi.

CHAPTER VI E.

Kinship

In the society of Sind each person has his own status in the family, a status based on his or her place in the degree of kinship. Each degree of kinship has its particular title and each person will recognise certain kin names. These are passed on by the parents and when a Sindi child reaches the age of two or three it is taught kin names. Through the parents children also learn whom they should obey, who are friends, who are enemies and from whom property may be inherited. When kindred, patrilineal and matrilineal, come to see the children then as a custom they bring either sweetmeats or toys and children are told of the particular things that each relative has brought. The child will be questioned about who has brought these toys, sweetmeats and clothes and he, in his way, learns the kin relationships. In the region of Sind many observations have been made of this practice.

The first kin terms which the child learns are related to mother and father, grandfather and grandmother. As the child lives very close to these relatives in a joint family system these relatives leave a deep impression of their own status. When children go with their mothers to their mother's father's house they are told that this house belongs to their Nano. The house of Dado is the house of their father. Similarly a girl belongs to certain homes, the household of her parents and the household of her husband's father.

For the child a knowledge of its social and family status becomes early established, status in lineage and bradri terms become known and economic status, e.g. right to land etc., are also implanted.

The Sindi kinship system creates a unifying network of rights and duties. These rights and duties prevail in order of kinship status in the kinship organisation. It is the traditional and as well as religious duty of the parents to look after their children. The rights and duties of Sindi children with their parents are governed by certain basic rules of Sindi society. In Sind the father is a dominating figure and children are supposed to give blind obedience to him. A fearful image of the father is developed in their minds by their mothers. The use of foul language and chaffing talk or argument with the father is unthinkable. The father has the right to punish or even to deprive of material benefits any child at fault. The slightest threat of the mother that she will put the matter before the father is an effective weapon to keep a recalcitrant child away from mischief. The father rarely actually punishes the children but whenever he does it is very severe.

The children have also certain rights over the father and his property. The father is responsible for their maintenance. The mother's duty mainly is the care of their health and the safe-guarding of their moral development. Feeding the child is also her duty. When children are ill or suffer any physical disability the role of the mother becomes very dominant as fathers mostly live out of the house

and are busy with economic pursuits. The elder sister and grandmothers greatly help the mother. Very early in life the child learns to act on the traditional norm of giving respect to the parents. Frequent physical punishment by the mother is customary. When the parents are dead the duties of looking after young children devolve upon the kindred.

The orphan children are looked after by their agnates. The responsibility of father goes to the uncle and duties of mother partly are covered by the elder sisters and uncle's wife. Sometimes when the grandparents are alive and are not very old they take the responsibility. In a joint family these responsibilities are seldom neglected. Collectively it is expected from every kin according to his degree of relationship to look after the child. The main duty of the womenfolk is to check his activities inside the house and take care of his dress, and food, cleaning etc. Outside the house the uncles and elder brothers are responsible. If there is no proper guidance available from agnatic relatives the children are passed to the maternal relatives. It is noted that the children, even when they are supervised by their agnates, also get some sort of indirect supervision by the maternal kinfolk, on the occasion for example of illness and on festivals their visits become very frequent. They sometime check the activities of agnates when they find some sort of slackness or injustice.

However, generally every one tries to give the same sympathies to the child which it would get from parents.

In polygamous households the children in Sind can suffer in many ways. Under the supervision of step-mothers the child gets very unfriendly and apathetic treatment. The unfriendly attitude of step-mothers is more or less a traditional belief in Sindi Society and the concept of a step mother is one of a cruel personality. The term "step-mother" sometimes is used in the form of curse. When Sindi mothers are annoyed with their children they curse them: "God will keep you under the thumb of a step-mother."

When the wives are in conflict over apparent favouritism shown by the husband then severe strains result, the situation is exacerbated in the household and each wife looks to the well being of her own children.

During fieldwork one example of what can happen was observed. In the family of an artisan in Karachi, one of the sons whose mother had died was accused by the step-mother of making sexual advances to her and also of kidnapping a cousin. This was carried to the point where police investigation resulted, only to prove the boy's innocence. In most cases observed of this sort of behaviour the step-mother tended to show hypocritical affection for the child in front of the father and effecting criticism by means of rumour.

The significance of this behaviour pattern is similar to that which we attached to behaviour with strangers and guests. A child deprived of one or both parent is to some extent abnormal and alien to the ideal family, it therefore tends to become a scapegoat to a certain extent, to be deprived of full

family membership and also likely to be the loser in the economic struggle for survival.

The husband and wife relationship is also very traditional; the husband is authoritarian and the wife is by duty docile and subordinate.

All the major decisions are made by the husbands and it is the duty of the wife to be loyal and submissive whatever the husband may be. The husband has the right to watch and control the activities and the ways of his wife and when there is any fault her husband can check and punish while the wife has no right to criticise him openly. Quarrels between husband and wife seldom grow to the point where divorce comes into practice. Women are so submissive that in spite of knowing that their husbands are behaving wrongly they remain silent. In one village, Chiho, the writer found a typical case where a man had illicit relations with a woman of a low caste. One of the members of bradri found out about this and the news became public throughout the village. Womenfolk later told people that when the wife was asked about it she already knew but could do nothing about it. A wife dare not reply to abuse or beating. As a result a sterotyped saying among some women is "Men are not worthy to be trusted".

It is strange that such attitudes can exist along with stable and strong family groups. This is so essentially because of the helplessness of the women once married in tradition based communities. When a woman marries she knows and is told by her parents and advisers that her links with her lineage are now

severed and that her husband's home is all that she has and that his family is now hers. If she leaves her husband in traditional Sind not only her status is affected but that of her parents and the whole family. Divorce is worse than death. Moreover it is regarded a blessing for a woman to die before her husband since to be a widow is to be a curse and lost. A woman therefore must submit and accept the existing status in and of the family.

How far this extreme attitude derives from purely Muslim attitudes and how far the similar and traditionally even more extreme Hindu attitudes (e.g. Suttee) are responsible can not be clearly determined.

In a joint family system like the Sindi type, married life for some years is passed under a parental roof and the proximity of other persons limit the privacy of married couples at night. The presence of mother and father and unmarried sisters sometimes prevents the development of any frankness between young husband and wife. At the beginning the couple remains very shy, especially the wife who frequently feigns complete ignorance about sex and grows up in an inhibiting atmosphere with limited responsibility.

The interpersonal relationship between a young wife and her mother-in-law is very important. Generally the mother-in-law tries to impose her authority over the daughter-in-law and she is entitled to respect from her. The instructions of the parents and the traditional norms compel the younger woman to remain loyal.

The mother-in-law in rural society of Sind is the main part of the familial organisation. She commands great respect in the women of bradri. The daughter-in-law is ontinually reminded of any faults and her family becomes a normal target for criticism.

The wives of brothers living in the same house also are jealous of each other and exploit the dominance of the mother-in-law during family quarrels.

The relation between father-in-law and son-in-law is of formality and respect. The son-in-law respects him like a father and the father-in-law treats him like a son and is more formal relatively to his own sons.

He tries to maintain solidarity between his sons and son-in-law and he generally never lets quarrels grow between them. The father of a young wife will avoid as far as possible any intervention on her behalf and will only intervene very diplomatically. If however any major issue arises then it may be brought up to the Panchayat or the law courts.

The contact between the siblings is very close. In dealing with each other they have to follow certain traditional rules. The brothers should bepolite with sisters and the older brother has the authority over his brothers and sisters.

The concept of male dominance exists in the mind of brothers and they try to show their authority over their sisters and keep strict eye over them. I have observed many attitudes of such strict dominations. One is quoted here:-

One nine year old boy was enquiring from his thirteen year old sister in a village, Pat in Dadu district, why she was gazing at men from the window. When he was not satisfied with her explanation then he threatened her that, if she did that in future he would kill her. Girls are brought up to be thus submissive to their brothers. The elder sisters are categorised in a respect relationship to their younger brothers and they use a kinship term for them. Younger sisters are also expected to call their elder sisters by their kin names.

Sisters take deep interest in the prospective brides of their brothers and try to keep friendly terms before and after marriage and they play a ritual role in certain marriage ceremonies at the marriages of their brothers. One instance of this sort of ritual role of sisters is quoted here from a Mari settled agricultural family, Rab Nawaz Mari Got, Nawabshah district. In this family after the Nikah (finalisation of marriage in Muslims) there is a custom that the bride and bridegroom sit face to face with each other and the corners of the clothes of the bride and bridegroom are tied together. The sister of the bridegroom catches up the joint and demands reward from the brother.

The ritual role of the mother's brother even in a patriarchal society is significant, for example at the time of the marriage of sister's children he represents his sister in the kinship organisation (see Chapter VII A Marriage). The role of grandparents in the kinship organisation is also very significant. Most of the grandparents are allowed to behave with great informality with their grandchildren.

The uncle is the next important relation after the father and is given fatherlike status. The aunt (maternal and paternal) has a status equivalent to that of a mother.

Outside the kin family there is an extension of kin type etiquettes which leads to recognition of classificatory relations. In classificatory relationships the friend of the mother is treated like an aunt and the friend of the father has the status of an uncle. Moral norms are also maintained to the strangers with special regard being given to old persons, old women and young girls.

It will be noted throughout that some superficially similar relationships exist in very different societies, e.g. in Britain.

In Sind these features are however emphasised to a much greater degree, status and respect relationships are both more formal and more regular. This is a measure of the family identity force which is very strong. Within these kinship characteristics of Sind there are also variations. For instance there are societies where husband and wife have a relationship of equality. Such societies one can find in intellectualised urban groups. The impact of female education is changing the social status of women. In those modern families where both men and women are earning members of the family the question of husband domination does not arise. The sophisticated families in big cities of Sind disown the rural attitude of men dictating to their wives. Not only is the position

of the married women being changed but also unmarried girls are being treated in a different way.

With education, the new opportunities and changing family attitudes girls are no longer chattels to be given in marriage but can and do find their own husbands. In large towns the trend of intermarriages between rich and poor is increasing.

As a result of western education in some families there are instances of the western usage of surnames being adopted and women are called by reference to their husband by titles such as Mrs. Ali, Mrs. Memon etc. There are also cases where wives have left their husbands by their own consent in modern sophisticated families and there are cases of disloyalty.

Even in rural communities there are families where women do not have inferior positions as where the system of bride purchase prevails (see Chapter VII B). Women do not have inferior positions in the Hindu educated class in Lohanas of Shikarpur and Sukkur and have certain amount of liberty. In some regions of upper Sind the wife is the main active element in family organisation and for instance settles marriage alliances for sons and daughters.

Other variations in kinship terminology are associated with the settlement in Sind of groups from India, Baluchistan, Bengal, Punjab etc. In many cases such groups are in some ways indistinguishable from the indegenous Sindis,, using [redacted] for example the Sindi language, but keeping their own kinship-relationship terms. Variations of various kinds tend to fall into one or other of the classes illustrated above.

Urbanization, sophistication and education are eroding the traditional family and kinship structures and only slowly are new structures emerging. The question here is similar to that posed elsewhere and is as yet unanswerable. Will the new urban society appearing merely become another cosmopolitan western type or will there come from cultural change and exchange a new and different social matrix owing something to tradition, something to western behaviour but differing from both. One indicator what will happen may be the fate of the kinship terminology.

Sind has a traditional kinship organisation which is composed of diverse elements. This organisation has its own nomenclatures which are precise and necessary in order to establish kinship identities. The terms which are used in agnatic kin are different to those which are used for maternal kin. When a Sindi speaks to his father's brother he says Chacha or Kaka, but when he speaks to his mother's brother he says Mamo or Mama. Similar terms are used to describe the female relatives of agnatic descent and maternal descent. The variations in the kin names are noticeable not only as occuring between agnatic and maternal relatives but also every relative has a separate kin name. As we can see from the list at the end of this chapter the kin name of father is different from the name of father's brother and kin name of mother is different from mother's sister and the same type of variations occur in other kin names. It is also noted that one kin may have several kin terms. Thus for mother's brother in some families he is called Mama and in some groups Mamo.

Similarly the kin term for the mother's sister is Masi and in some families becomes Mussi. The kin term for the father is Aboo and for the mother is Mau and in some families father is Baba and mother is Ama.

It may be noted also that classificatory relatives sometimes are called by the same kin name used for close kin. As we see the mother's female friend is called Ama (a kin term for mother) and a father's friend is called by the kin name of uncle, Chacha.

There are also differences in the terms of address and in the terms of reference. Words like Patri (daughter) Putu (son) Poti (grand-daughter) are examples of such terms of references.

Parents show their affection in childhood by using the affectionate diminutive as in many other societies. In this way we find Abdu from Abdullah and Rab instead of Rab Nawaz etc. Most particularly associated with some African and Asian societies we may find that husbands do not use the name of their wives but rather call them by reference to the name of a child i.e. "mother of ....". Wives may also speak to their husband in analogous terms.

Examples of the formal kin-names are given at the end of this chapter. What is important is their function and its strength. Here, as with family and family stranger protocols, the purpose is to identify each individual partly by positively expressing his or her position within a kin-ship, partly by negatively putting others normally outside such a group. The practical concept of kin relationship involves help given between kindred and usually such things are not

expected by the non kin or the remote kin. Respect and regard status prevails according to the position of the man in the ladder of kinship. But sometimes the age factors change the degree of respect relationship as in the case of an uncle or aunt who may be just equal in age to nephews and nieces and are then considered in the capacity of father and mother.

When we put this kinship structure in the context not only of family but also of community, cultural and occupational then we see how well-knit for purpose of identity and survival traditional life has developed. In Sind we find the changes in this situation to a lesser extent than in the Punjab where cultural and social clash has been greater while in these areas of West Pakistan where life remains tribal and village based i.e. Baluchistan etc., population and settlement is so dispersed and fragmented by the effects of nomadic pastoralism and the diversity of terrain that there is less homogeneous strength than in the more uniform lower Indus valley.

CHAPTER VI E

Appendix 12

Kinship nomenclature normal Sindi terms.		Variants from U.P. India	
Fa	Babo	Aboo, Piu	Abba, Bap
Fa-Fa		Dado	Dada
Fa-Fa-Fa		Para-dado	Par-dada
Mo-Fa		Nano	Nana
Mo-Fa-Fa		Para-nano	Par-nana
Fa-Br			
(a) elder		Kako	Taia
(b) younger		Cạco, chacha	Chacha
Mo-Br		Mamo	Mamoo
Mo		Mau, Ama	Ammi, Booa, Ma Amma
Mo-Mo		Nani	Nani
Mo-Fa-Mo		Para-nani	Par-nani
Fa-Mo		Dadi	Dadi
Fa-Fa-Mo		Para-Dadi	Par-Dadi
Fa-Si		Puphi	Phuphi
Mo-Si		Masi	Khala
Br		Bhau, Dada, Ada	Bhai
Fa-Br-So		Sautu	Chachera Bhai
Fa-Si-So		Puphatu	Phupizad Bhai
Si-So		Bhanejo	Bhanja
So-So		Poto	Pota
So-So-So		Para-Poto	Parpota

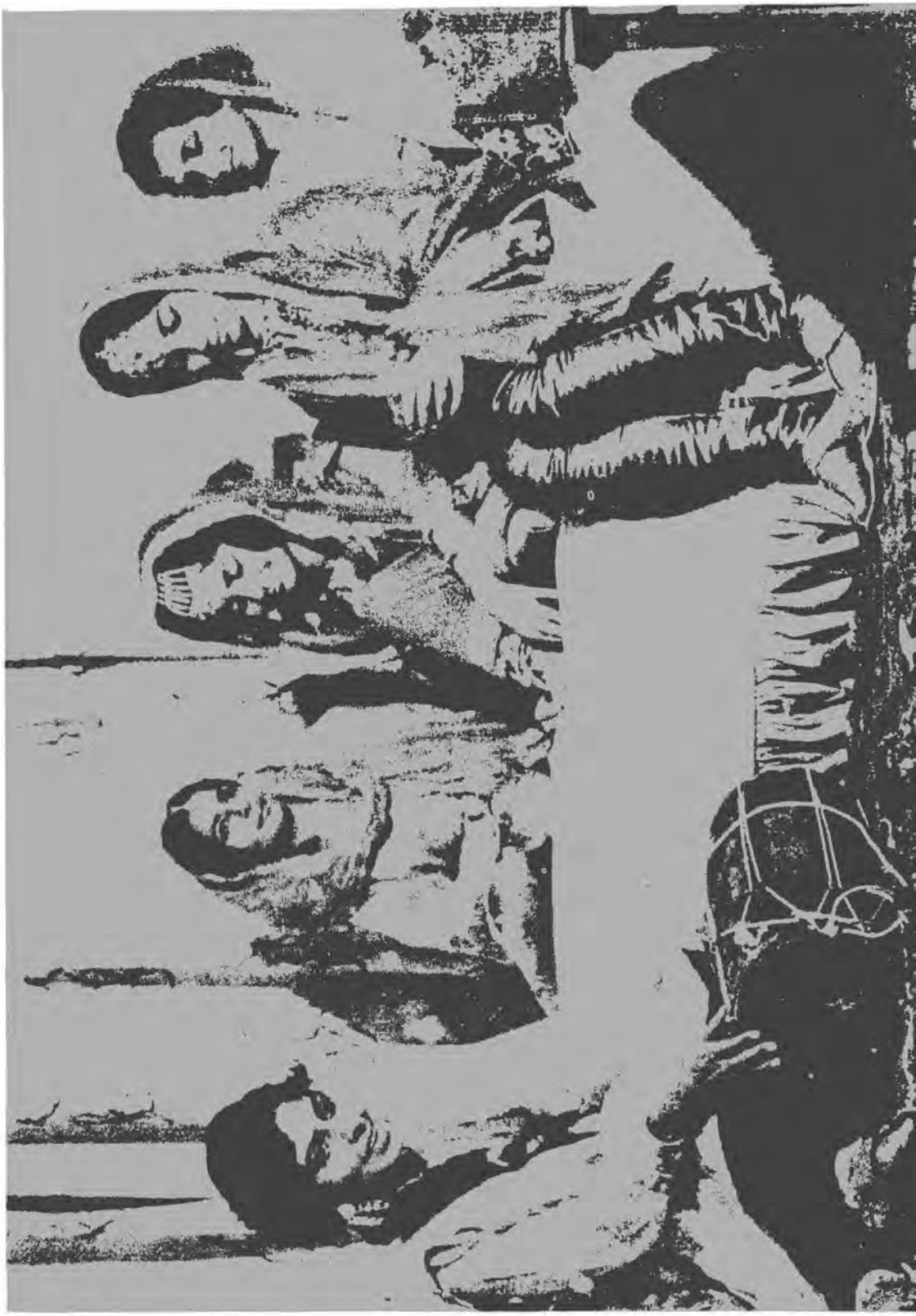
Da-So-So	Para-dohito	Par-navasa
Da	Dhiu, Dhia,Niani	Beti, Larki
Br-Da	Bhaiti	Bahtiji
Si-Da	Bhaneji	Bahanji
Da-Da	Dohiti	Navasi
Da-Da-Da	Para-dohiti	Par navasi
So-Da	Poti	Poti
So-So-Da	Para-Poti	Parpoti
Fa-Si-Hu	Puphadu	Phoopa
Hu-Fa	Sahuro	Susur
Mo-Si-Hu	Masadu	Khaloo
Mo-Br-Wi	Mami	Mammi
Hu-Mo	Sasu	Sas
Wi-Mo	Sasu	Sas
Hu	Bhataru, Charavaro Mudsu, Ghotu	Sohar
Wi-Fa	Sahuro	Susura
Hu-Br		
elder	Jethu	Jeth
younger	Deru, Gauro	Devar
Sis-Hu	Bhenivio	Bahanoi
Wi-Br	Salo	Sala
Wi	Bah, Zal	Bevi, Bahu
Hu-Si	Ninana	Nand

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

AND

CUSTOMS

Plate 8



CHAPTER VII A

Marriage

In the preceding sections we have considered the main structural elements in community, kinship, and family. Marriage can be considered in its relationship to those forces which form kinship and family groups, as well as in its own right possessing certain ceremonial and other characteristics. The social function of marriage clearly affects the organisation of marriage while cultural traits some of which are regional also play a part.

First we should consider the organisational elements. In Sindi society marriages are arranged by the parents and marriages which follow from individual initiative are, in the countryside at least, believed to be doomed to failure. At this point it should be noted that Pakistan is in a state of transition.

In the case of women's legal rights in relationship to marriage etc., the state of Pakistan through the Family Law Ordinance has recognised that the traditional survival values of the past have become restrictive to change. We have already seen that new economic opportunities particularly associated with urban growth have produced in some parts of the community a greater desire for individual freedom, this specially affecting women. In Sind we therefore find that for the majority of the population in which rural life is associated with a strength of tradition that the legal rights of the individual are now developing at an uneven rate.

In general this chapter concerns itself mainly with the traditional elements of marriages. The arrangement of marriages is based upon some particular factors. First endogamy is strong and marriages tend to be maintained within the caste/class groups. This is true among both Muslim and Hindus. Religion allows any Muslim to marry any other Muslim but in practice the long association of some families with particular occupations, status and even region has led to the cross linking of particular family group through many generations and it may be observed that other things being equal matches are mostly arranged between cousins, parallel cousin marriages being preferred.

Alliances are most desirable when they maintain family pride and status. We have already noted that purity of lineage is one major element in deciding family pride and status along with economic consideration which because of the strength of endogamy in determining occupations also tend to be affected by lineage and kinship. A marriage which links a "superior" family with an "inferior" family lowers the status of the superior family and sometimes both of the superior family and inferior family.

Among Muslims the restrictions on marriages with blood relationships are relatively few. There is a strict prohibition of marriage with one's own brother or sister and father's brother's/sister or mother's brother/sister. Marriage between such kin would be regarded as incest and this is often extended to cover the equivalent classificatory relationships earlier mentioned, ~~as well as blood relationship~~. Among

Hindus inter-marriage between blood relations to a degree of twelve generations (theoretically at least) is prohibited. There is also a system of totems which control intermarriages. With Hindus marriage as such is a sacrament while among Muslims it is a social and civil contract recognised by Islam as the only legitimate outlet for sexual need. While therefore in Sind there are some differences between Hindu and Muslim conceptions of marriage there exist in the traditional societies a great deal in common.

In both cases betrothal, as a formal ceremony is carried out between very young children. There is even the practice in some families to settle matrimonial alliances at the time of birth or even in the prenatal period, the reason for such urgency directly derived from the fear of not being able to make alliances at a later date and it also clarifies for all families within the same potential marriage group the rights and freedoms that are available.

This in turn can only be the results of fear of a family being forced into undesirable alliances or the non-marriage of individuals. In traditional society non-marriage affects the status not only of individuals but also of the family. Thus in some illiterate Hindu groups an unmarried man who dies is given a marriage ceremony at death and cremation. The body of such an unmarried dead man being taken on the bier which is covered with red cloth (Khunhba) to the cremation ground with the sounds of drums. Associated with general attitudes with marriage are also specific attitudes to

virginity and fertility. In many parts of Pakistan and India, as elsewhere, considerable importance is attached to virginity of unmarried girls and in Sind not only is the extra-or pre-marital loss of virginity a disgrace to the individual but also to the family and society. Here again we see that the over-riding consideration is survival of the family and the associated kinship relationship. The degree of segregation afforded to unmarried girls does appear to some extent to encourage homosexualism among youths but this is less developed than in Pashto speaking areas.

Fertility is of course essential for family survival and both in choice of partner and ceremonies this aspect is stressed. Among the Memons as reported from Tando Jam the bridegroom after marriage will fill up the palm of his bride's hand with a quantity of dry "Tira" (sesamum) or rice, these cereals being considered to symbolize a male child. Once an alliance is decided then comes the betrothal ceremony essential to Hindus and Muslims of Sind. Among Muslims the brides family will present a ring to the bridegroom's family in the presence of the guests. This will be reciprocated by gifts of clothes and ornaments while a "dopatta" (headcover) is also kept over the head of the bride. The Mulla will pray for good will between the parties and sweet meats are distributed.

Among Hindus the parents of the girl will send to the bridegroom's parent a tray of sugar candy and some money as a handsel of bride's dowry. When these accepted then the betrothal is complete. There are many variations in the details of betrothal ceremony and on occasion of other festivities. But in Sind

as a whole betrothal is regarded not only as a binding contract but as a very important festivity.

The marriage itself is the culmination of affairs. A great deal of expense is incurred for a major family union. The rejoicing and the arrival of the guests marks the beginning of a week, prior to marriage, which is given up wholly to merry-making. For four days prior to the marriage day the bride remains secluded from all except some of her close kin this at the request of the women of the groom's family, this being a special Sindi custom "Wenah".

The other most important custom is the practice of "Lawn". It is universal to the whole of Sind; this consists in striking the head of both bride and bridegroom together by an old member of the family.

Ritual and ceremonial dress and symbolic flowers all have their parts in the preparation for the grooms procession. The bride similarly has ceremonial apparel. The marriage takes place at the bride's residence finalized in Hindus by a Brahmin and in Muslims by a Mulla. The Mulla will read the verses of Quran and will solemnize the marriage in an Islamic way. Associated with this also is the element of "Mehr". This is a sum of money agreed by the families, which becomes payable by the bridegroom to the bride if at a future date he divorces her. This is one of the few checks on male freedom. The dowry is a right to which the girl is entitled from her parents

and this generally includes traditional clothes, ornaments and certain gifts and sometimes cattle. In rich urban communities the dowry is more elaborate and includes less traditional and more modern items like watches, radio sets, cars etc.

The "bradri" members and the guests give gifts as a token of economic as well as social relationship.

In low caste/status societies then poverty tends to override match-making and dowry giving. Here one finds the quite different practice of charging a bride price known as "Walwar" in e.g. Dadu and Nasirabad and "Lab" in Mari nomad communities. Walwar which will vary from Rs.1000 to Rs. 1500 is paid in advance whereas the Mari pastoralists will put a value on Lab of 46 to 80 sheep and goats plus some cash.

Amongst Hindus of Sind the details of ceremonies are different. The Brahmin performs the symbolic "Hom" sacrifice by burning seeds and will recite religious verses. The bride and bridegroom perform four movements, the "Peheras", moving around the sacrificial fire with linked hands.

After the marriage ceremonies the bride will then go to the grooms home and become a part of his family. The position of women in the family and question of male authority have already been considered in Chapter VI D.

There is however one particular element which logically appears in this section. This is the matter of infidelity and divorce. In the case of divorce there is a striking differentiation between Hindu and Muslim communities of Sind. Divorce is not recognised by the Hindu religion even though desertion and separation may in fact occur; this is the essential justification for the old practice of Suttee. In Islam on the other hand divorce has always been recognised as valid in a religious sense. Normally both religion and social custom tend to prohibit divorce except on strong grounds, mainly infidelity on the part of the women. In practice this gives rise, particularly in Sind where the traditional importance attached to the family is very strong, to conflict between two attitudes. If the family and kinship structure are essential matrices of society then lineage purity becomes a matter of strength and pride; on the other hand an accusation, true or otherwise is an insult to the parental family of the women concerned. Despite the fact that on marriage she strictly becomes a member of her husband's family, ties with her parental family are not completely severed. The parental family may frequently either intervene or give protection to a divorced woman, although in Sind intervention rarely develops into the blood feuds which would frequently occur among Pathans. Exceptional are the settled Mari families where violence may often break out. This has been reported from Nawabshah, Larkana and other places. At the other extreme among the poorer groups where bride

purchase is practiced then divorce is more lightly accepted, such instances being reported in Dadu and Nasirabad.

In practice the attitude to divorce most often can be correlated with differences between socio-economic status of particular groups. Some families, usually relatively wealthy and sophisticated in village terms, set such store by their pride of lineage that they will not acknowledge divorce or any reason for divorce as applying to themselves. On the other hand where traditional values have to some extent been eroded then secular divorce is recognised, as in the recent Family Law which gives the women not only greater protection against casual divorce but also gives her some positive rights as well as a claim for economic support.

Lastly there is the question of Polygamy. Polygamy in Islam is permissive under the strict attitude of equality. In Sind it is seldom observed. Its prevelance in Muslims vary considerably within Pakistan, within socio-economic groups in Sind and is common only in cases where men are rich and self indulgent. Polygamy exists in both Hindus and Muslims but in Hindus it is now very seldom seen. Some cases are reported in Lohanas and Thakurs.

Lastly, the practice of remarriage by widows required at least a note. In Tharparkar district the marriage of widows is completely stopped in Hindu groups and mostly occurs in Muslims. On the whole, the degree of second marriage of the women

depends on the particular customs and the personality of individual families. In Kot Diji and Nara valley there are reports of the remarriage of Hindu widows and here this practice is associated with some social and moral obligation to support widows.

In Sind the strength of rural tradition has resulted in the survival of custom and the attitudes noted above. Where however urbanization has been rapid then the institution of marriage is as with others has had a change of status. Greater opportunities and freedom for the individual has encouraged the spread of exogamous marriages. As the status of families changes in the new town based societies so too are changed the values adopted for family alliances.

The Family Law Ordinance both recognises the changes and need for further change.

The legal controls on divorce and the prohibition of Polygamy in the traditional sense and the legal banning of marriages of minors are all representative of significant social change as well as the introduction of secular law into new fields.

In Sind in particular the numerical predominance of the rural population implies that the traditional forces affecting marriage and other institutions remain strong. Under such conditions the status and practice of marriage will for most people have socio-economic as well as mystical-religious basis. The question of lineage, family status, self identification and group identification, both by the individual and by the family all these remain strong in the larger context of communal structure and religion.

CHAPTER VII B

Birth

In this and succeeding section greater attention is turned to social customs and the relationship between these and social structures.

In Sind the birth of children is regarded not only as giving personal satisfaction to parents but as a significant response to social and economic need, childlessness is regarded as a curse and a barren woman loses status in society. After the birth of a child a new social status is conferred on the new family.

Fertility among Muslims ~~as well as~~ and in Hindus is exalted and many rituals have been developed to try and ensure fertility. All this is a reflection of the fundamental need for ensuring family survival. This is to some degree present in all societies, but in the Sindi society we have described its enormous importance as reflected by the complicated rituals, beliefs and the taboos associated with birth. During pregnancy various controls are imposed on women's activities, i.e. they are not allowed to remain in the open moonlight especially during the period of moon eclipse and dietary restrictions are imposed. A pregnant woman may not lift loads lest the unborn child might pick up deformities. At the time of birth restrictions are more extreme. Any one who is believed to have the evil eye may not enter the house and sometimes onions are hung in the house in order to keep out evil. No male or unmarried girls

may enter the female apartments, and among some Hindu families the time of birth is sometimes kept a secret from non-members of the family. Amulets and sometimes money are tied to the mother and prayers are offered. At the birth self-trained midwives will officiate in rural areas, these possessing not only experience but also believed to have certain magical powers. On birth evil is avoided by the disposing of the placenta by burial, sometimes in the area of the house or sometimes by throwing in a river. Newly born children are widely believed in Sind to be holy and pure. They are in some sense unwordly creatures who have brought their destiny with them on birth. This destiny can be seen on the child's forehead. Nevertheless amulets are given to them to protect them from evil spirits and the boy children are given silver neck chains and ear rings to deceive the evil spirits into believing that they are girls.

The birth of a child especially a male is a major festive occasion. The various kindred will assemble to congratulate the family and to bring gifts. Songs, of a traditional character mainly concerned for the safety of a boy child, are sung, sweet meats are distributed and the poor are fed. The news of a successful delivery sometimes is traditionally conveyed by a drummer who will signal when the birth is completed. As with the midwives such messengers form a recognised occupational or professional group in rural society and their existence is a measure of the esteem in which

the birth ceremonies are held. Their rewards depend to some extent on the economic position of the family but are always relatively large.

The birth of a son is regarded as particularly auspicious. A son is the means of ensuring lineage survival in a patriarchal society, is a ritual necessity for the performance of ritual ceremonies for his father and is of course an extra working unit.

A girl on the other hand tends to be regarded as an economic liability who has a need for dowry and is always a potentially weak point in the armour of family prestige and status. Following birth a sequence of other ceremonies are observed. On the sixth day after the birth the "Chhati" ceremony is held by both Muslims and Hindus and consists of ritual singing and the naming of a boy or girl by Muslims or the boy by Hindus.

Muslims will later hold the ceremony of "Aqiqa" when the child is six or eight month old. On this occasion the local barber will make the first ritual cutting and shaving of the child's hair. Two goats are sacrificed for a boy, one for a girl and the meat is distributed among kindred, friends and the poor. Significantly, food is eaten by participants in the female apartments and not in Otak. The womenfolk of the family and neighbourhood will sing and sometimes the boys hair may be sacrificed on the grave of a Pir (saint) venerated by the family.

Hindus have an analogous shaving rite when the child is about 13 months, this is called "Munan"; and to some extent similar ceremonies are observed.

Variations in the above mentioned customs can be noted. In Muslim families the women usually give birth to the first child in her parents home but among Hindus birth normally takes place at the husband's home. Among the low class/caste families who have a bride purchase system the girl is regarded an economic asset and as such her birth will be joyously celebrated. There are other differences particularly as between Muslims and in Hindus in the naming ceremonies.

Among Muslims before the announcement of the name (preferably derived from the Quran) by the family elder or by the Mulla, a "bang", the call to the prayer, must first be sounded in the ear of the child so that the first sound it hears shall be the sound of God.

In Hindus the name is conferred by Brahmin who will invoke the Ganesh the Hindu God symbolizing good fortune.

Thereafter great concern is given to the religious as well as to the social customary element in a sequence of birth ceremonies in which religious instructions begin at a very early age.

CHAPTER VII C

Death

In spite of the religious differences between Hindus and Muslims of Sind there is a considerable affinity between their customs associated with death. Both groups stress the religious elements and their death ceremonies are performed by their religious guides. Among Muslims the presence of the Mulla is essential and in Hindus the Brahmin is very important.

Death is every where regarded as of very great consequence. If it occurs during festivals then the family will not take part in ceremonies to the extent that they will not wear festive clothes or prepare food but have it sent from neighbours and remote relatives.

If death occurs in an unusual manner it is ascribed to supernatural elements such as spirits and ghosts. If death has prevented carrying out of some desire then it is presumed that the deceased may return to this earth as ghost. The death of a young man, particularly if married, is regarded as a sign of bad luck for the whole family. The actual dying is treated ritually in order to help the spirit of the dying person. Among Muslims during "Sakarat" (agonies of death) members of the family and the dying person will read "Kalma Shahdat" (a confession of Muslim faith) loudly. Honey and water is dropped in the mouth of the dying man and then the lips and eyes are closed.

In the case of Hindus, a dying man is laid on the earth floor and either drops of Ganges water or the sprinkled water of the Tulsi plant or Sherbet (syrup) is put in his mouth.

In all cases the ritual bathing of the corpse is essential before burial and cremation ceremonies. Weeping and crying for the dead is regarded as a duty more or less universally. The outward expression of grief and respect by wailing and wearing of soiled clothes and the beating of the breast and thighs by women, must be obviously observed.

Charitable gifts and the feeding of the poor together with a feast for the religious leaders, members of the family and friends over a long period of ritual ceremonies all impose a considerable financial strain on the family concerned. In order to alleviate this strain friends and near kindred will contribute financially in a custom of "Uzur Khuwani". This is one of the many occasions in which the strength of the kinship structure in the form of bradri shows its social and cohesive value. When a deceased has no close kin then other members of the family and bradri take the responsibility.

Two particular rites observed in Sind are worth noting for their significance to elements of social structure already noted. First there is the symbolism associated with the nose ring traditionally worn by Sindi women. This nose ornament is generally regarded as symbolizing the life and authority of the husband; even during life it is held in special regard

and women will only remove the nose ring in strict seclusion and for a short time. When the woman dies it is not taken off, but when the husband dies the nose ring is removed and bangles are broken and the women's hair dishevelled. This is not merely an act of mourning but a recognition that the widow is diminished by the death of her husband. Secondly there is the devolution of the family headship to the eldest son on the death of the father. He performs all the major ceremonial rites, is chief corpse bearer and among Muslims puts the body in the graveyard and among Hindus lights the cremation fire. The members of the family and bradri transfer to his son the "Pagri" (turban) of family headship. This transference may also take place if the father is incapacitated from exerting his authority. The recognition of the authority of the new family head is of vital significance in a society where family kinship and lineage form the matrix of the community and this means that the bradri as a whole must be satisfied with the character, lineage and status of the new head. This may sometimes mean that the eldest son may be set aside in favour of someone more worthy.

Following the burial and cremation other duties and ceremonials are prescribed. Among Muslims a widow may not leave the house for four months and ten days and among Hindus for at least 12 months. On the third day after burial Sindi Muslims have a "soyem" ceremony peculiar to themselves. The bradri members and friends read Quran aloud and those who are not in a position to recite read "Kalma" (confession of Muslim faith) while using

pieces of ritually clean brick as "beads". The pieces are very often ornamented and are kept in the mosque. The symbolism of these pieces of brick is the same as that in Christian burial ... on the coffin in the phrase "earth to earth and dust to dust". This is followed by funeral feasts which may be repeated on the 10th and 40th day (Chehlum). Among Hindus the third day after the cremation is a time for mourning. The Brahmin are given food on the 12th day and ceremonies are repeated in six months or a year.

Most of the rites mentioned above are common in Sind but there are also minor variations as between Hindu communities and in between Muslim groups. The differences between Muslims and Hindus are illustrated by e.g. the sprinkling of cow urine on the funeral pyre which is symbolically important in Hindus but prohibited in Muslims. The method of bathing the dead ~~in both the groups~~s is also different.

The Tahkur families in the desert areas among Sindi Hindus will construct an effigy of the dead man at the place of cremation. Such effigies are called "Loharati".

Similarly among Muslims variations of minor kind can be observed in the ceremonies of "Fateha" and other type of ritual observance.

For example the Rajors, Mari, Bhutto, Memon use different symbolic food stuffs for distribution to the poor and also vary in the period of Fateha ceremonies.

The points considered above supply further evidence of the nature of Sindi society. First we see how both common traits as well as the identities and individualities of the communities and ethnic groups and religious faith co-exist in traditional Sind. Secondly we see how important appears the destructive effect of death to families and communities and, further, how the need for the rapid re-establishing of new structures is seen. In a Sindi family the concept which we find in the English phrase "The King is dead, long live the King" is a very real element in the struggle for survival. Thirdly, the ceremonies of death and burial are as important as marriage and birth ceremonies for the public recognition of the strength of the family structure.

Beyond this we can also see how the needs and values of Sindi society are mirrored in death and burial rites ranging from relative status, status of men and women to the varying responsibilities of the kinship groups of family and bradri.

CHAPTER VII D

Disease

Some short notes on disease and attitudes to it are relevant to this study. In the dominant rural areas diseases vary somewhat region to region depending upon the environments but most derive from the lack of hygiene. Intestinal and kidney diseases are prevalent as a result of shortage of water particularly of clean water, there are insect transmitted diseases such as malaria and,which are often endemic, the sicknesses which result from inadequate diet and shelter. Lastly diseases such as small pox which, in the absence of adequate facilities, give rise to epidemics. The development of medical services is proceeding rapidly but in the traditional Sind there still survive the local treatments and, above all, magical mystical remedies. The strength of mysticism in Sind was noted earlier and the wearing of charms and amulets and the use of water from some wells and streamswhich are regarded as having magical properties is common in rural areas. It was estimated in a 1964 study of "Pakistan, its people, its society its culture" that three out of four Pakistanies live in areas where malaria is prevalent. The ratio of malaria patients is about 40% every year. As many as 150,000 die annually.

It is expected that Mullas and above all Bhopos (see Chapter VI B) will supply mystical protection. When nevertheless disease strikes it is attributed to

the evil eye or supernatural factors. Two examples of the result of such attitudes are given below.

Small pox is common and has a variety of traditional names like "Lakhro" "Uriri" "Sitala" etc., and also a variety of treatments. During its period the women will sprinkle water on the trees believing this will cool down the goddess of small pox Sitala, and during attacks prayers are said to her. The giving of cardamom in milk sometimes is believed to be a cure. The patient is kept on a traditional rope bed, the ropes and frame of which must be tightened. Women will sing songs to Sitala and unburnt mudbricks are symbolically sacrificed over the patient and then thrown into a ruined well. If fever is continuous the dust of three corners of the street is collected and kept under the patient at night. On the seventh day the patient is made to sit on a donkey and various ritual ceremonies are carried out. The treatments of pneumonia has less magic but is equally traditional. The body of the patient is covered with a sheep skin in hot weather and a goat or deer skin in cold weather, and for reducing the chest pain the fire ash is rubbed on the place of pain. One head of the family explained to the writer that "in this way we bring the circulation of the blood to a proper state so that the pain is either lessened or stopped". This same informant believed that this and other traditional cures are more effective than anything which a doctor can do. Bites and stings by snakes and scorpions are common and various traditional ways of removing poison or neutralizing it are known. In Sindi villages there is often a traditional physician who combines some traditional practical knowledge with

mystical power and both physical and magical practices become mixed. A typical treatment is for the bite of the "Phookni" snake. In many areas there is a belief that this snake will appear if its name is mentioned and this becomes taboo. As protection some families will keep lighted candles in the house, take two or three pieces of onion and keep in their mouths leaves of various plants and grasses.

After a bite the patient must be kept away from the light, preferably in a pit and it is believed that if he faces the sun he will go blind within four hours. A small piece of a branch of a tree is held to the typical throat gland swelling to disolve the poison. The liquid of some birds eggs is also used as a remedy. A cloth is tied over the patients head and he is made to swallow up to one pound of alum which is tasteless to the poisoned person but when the poison is removed it becomes ~~again of~~ bitter, ~~taste.~~

Here again one can observe how in the case of disease one finds an underlying strength of mystical beliefs, the use of local materials as remedies and the overlying regional and family diversities. The greatest difference is of course between the treatment of and attitudes to disease in the towns as opposed to countryside. Here again therefore one finds a society partly in transition and partly become divided.

Plate 11

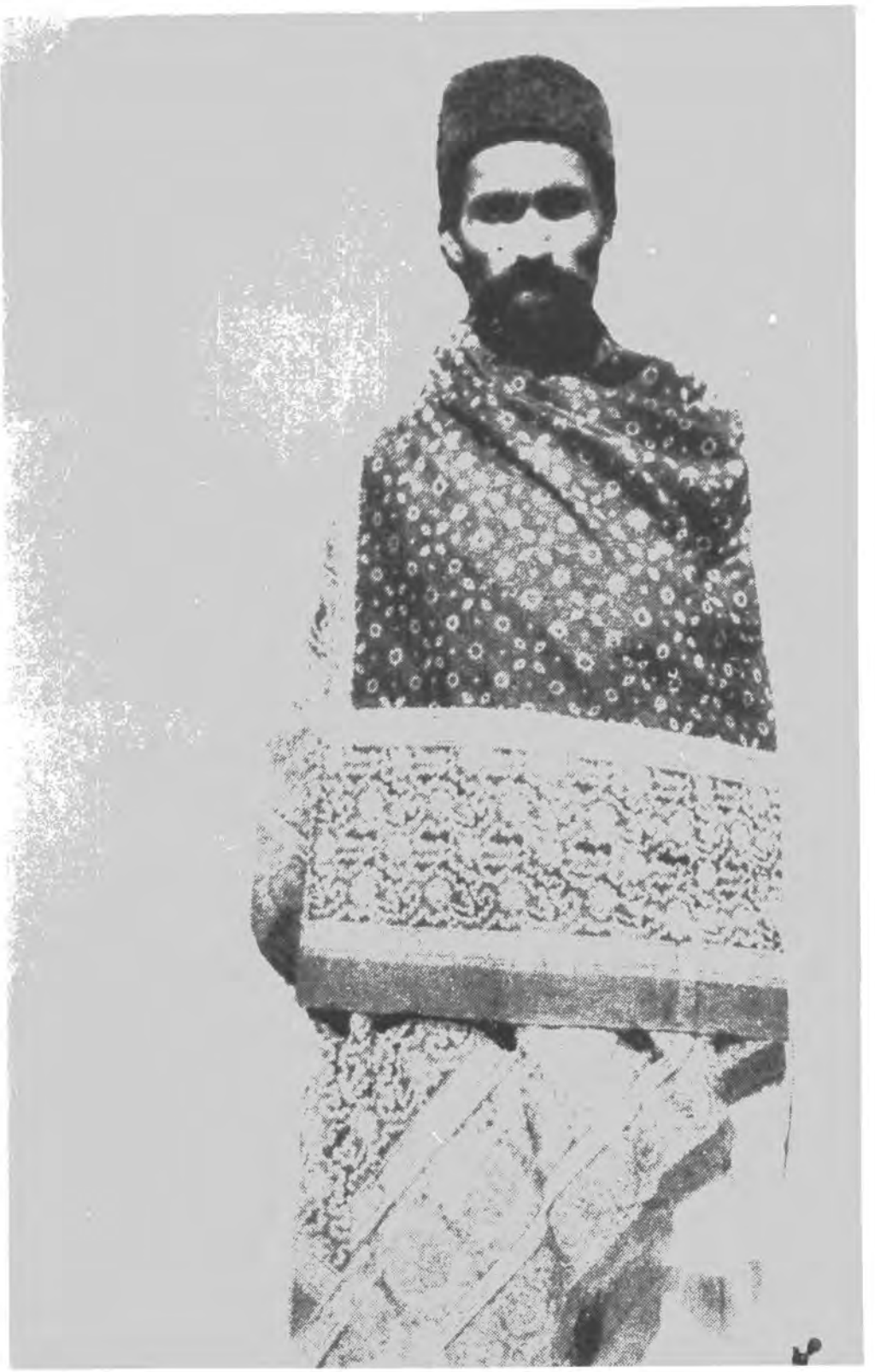


Plate 12

CHAPTER VII E

Dress

One of the striking characteristics of the regional individuality of Sindi life appears in dress as with language, customs and some aspects of socio-economic organisation. This appears in traditional general design, details such as stitching and various combinations of colours. There are of course variations associated with wealth and poverty, religion and regionalism but first we will consider the general aspects.

The use of vividly coloured clothes is striking. One particular male costume which is worn in variety of ways, sometimes over a shoulder or shoulders and sometime cover up the upper part of the body completely is called Ajrak which means flaming banners. This is also very much a characteristic of Sindi female dress.

The female Salwar (typical trouser narrow at the ankle) are also coloured and striped and the chemises and bodices intricately worked with small mirrors. These bright colours are traditionally obtained from local material such as turmeric, indigo, cochineal and madder.

Various lacquers and finishes are used for brightening and give sheen to the cloth.

Apart from "Ajrak" the Sindi male wears a turban which under various names such as Patko or Pagri is not only a head covering but symbolises male status in some forms e.g. the status of family headship or head of Panchayat. Shirts may be long or short with some

special stitching. The "Salwar" is also a male trouser different in style from the female garment.

Frequently there is also a Sadri a type of waist coat differentiated by stitching as between male and female. Female also wear apart from trouser of Salwar type, the Chooridar pyjama (a tight fitting trouser of cotton cloth similar to riding breaches in style).

The Para a long undivided skirt is also worn instead of trousers. The Sari is a long cloth wound in a skirt shape and extending over the upper part of the body. With these women will wear various type of blouses.

The "Gaj" is a low cut embroidered blouse and the Gaj-Ga lavishly embroidered at the sleeves and the neck is another typical blouse type. The Rawa and Chunni are unsewn garments for wrapping around the body the latter being typically red and yellow. Women have no normal head covering except for the swathing of the Chunni or Rawa. "Dhoti", a simple robe wrapped around the body and between the legs is also found and worn by men.

The working clothes found in the countryside are of course much simpler. A small tenant farmer or labourer will just wrap a piece of cloth around his loins sometimes adding a small shirt, a Sadri and a simple head covering of cloth, an Anghocha. The womenfolk wear a "chola" a typically cut shirt type and Salwar. The differences appear particularly in winter. Both sexes will add extra protection

of blanket coverings usually with a distinctive diamond pattern in the weave while the poor have little except their working clothes. Differences between Hindus and Muslims appear in dress with the "dhoti" and the Gandi cap particularly associated with Hindus and the "Chooridar pyjama" characteristic of Muslim females.

However, the average rural women's dress according to the Census of 1961 Nawabshah district is a cut shirt slightly above knee length termed a "Chola" and a coloured trouser fastened with multi colour cord and a coloured "Dopatta" (a type of garment which covers the head as well as the breast of the females).

Apart from these, other differences, generally in minor details of adjustment of dress, are found as differences between communities on a small scale rather than major distinctions. Footwear varies with wealth and also with subregion again with minor differences in design. Some regional and community differences are illustrated as follows.

The Memons on special occasions will wear a special type of waist coat called the "Sundri" which is not worn by any other group. The Rajor turban is made of ten yards of cloth as distinct from Bhuttos who use five yards. The Rajors arrange the turban differently from Bhuttos who keep it high on their head. Various type of such identifications are also noticeable in Hindus.

It is at festivities and other important social occasion that the various groups, religious, ethnic, rich and poor particularly display their identity.

On these occasions full traditional dress will be worn and the ornaments which are an essential part of female traditional dress will be displayed. These ornaments are of certain general types, which in the detail of construction and in the combinations for wearing supply evidence for the identification both of Sindis as a whole and of particular communities. The "Nath" (nose ring) has already been noted (see Chapter VII C). There are as well the bangles of silver and gold, the "Wallis" a special type of ear ring and "Jhumar" a pendant decoration for the forehead.

The "Hasi" is a decorative neck ring and the "Mundi" the rings for the toes complete a normal set of ornaments.

We have seen that city life is tending to reduce the strength of traditional communities and to strengthen individualism and cosmopolitanism. So it is also with dress. Men particularly of the younger modern urban generation adopt western garb, typically the western tight trousers rather than the traditional Salwar, western shirts and shoes.

In the cities the modern women adopt the Sari as a standard dress although some regional forms of the skirt such as Garara, a long flowing divided skirt type typical of Dadu is also sometimes adopted. There is also a modified tighter Salwar. Ornaments tend to be restricted to small ear rings and if betrothed a finger ring.

CHAPTER VII F

Food

Since the rural element is still the largest in the population of Sind and since as we noted earlier the social economy of Sindi agriculture has a very strong subsistence orientation, then the fundamental characteristics of diet is the heavy reliance on local products and Karachi is the only area which greatly consumes imported goods.

The main elements in diet are the cereals, wheat, barjira (millet), jowar (andropoggon sorghum), and rice, a very great variety of vegetables and pulses, meat and the main beverages tea, milk and "Lassi". In the case of meat there are various complicated situations since some Hindu groups are vegetarian and do not take meat at all, although some will eat mutton and since Islam regards the pig as unclean, then pork is no where openly served, although it is consumed to a small extent by nonmuslim groups e.g. Christians.

Grain is the staple food eaten mainly in the form of unleavened bread cakes, "Chapaties".

In the cities, towns and large villages of the Tandoo type (see Chapter V) grain is ground in commercial mills. In the cities the non-agricultural population will normally purchase flour through retail outlets controlled by the rationing system. In the smaller towns and Tandoos on the other hand farmers will bring their own grain to be prepared in small mills. Where the settlement is of small village type or is dispersed, the women of the household prepare their own flour with rotary hand querns. Bread

making varies similarly in town and country.

Meat is cooked in a variety of ways. A very large number of spices such as chillies, black pepper and onions are used heavily. Vegetable dishes are of great variety, using in particular tomatoes, turnip, bringal, cauliflowers and lady fingers. Rice is cooked alone and in various sweet and savoury dishes and in some parts of Jacobabad is also made into bread. Sea fish are commonly eaten in Karachi and river fish is consumed near the Indus.

The most general beverage is milk which is also used as an element in other foodstuffs; it is the traditional family drink. Tea is consumed not only at home but also for entertaining guests and in the tea houses. "Lassi", emulsified yogurt, is another traditional drink, as also is "Kuskus", a preparation made with almond juice. Intoxicant drinks are not very common. In hot weather a typical drink "Tadhal" with sugar and cumin seed and a little Bhang (a type of intoxication) is sometimes consumed.

The general dietary pattern is clearly similar to that found in other parts of southern and south-western Asia with the normal variants that go with differences in income. The heaviest consumption of meat and poultry is naturally found among the most well-off people while the poor will normally consume a few thick chapatis with onion and a glass of milk or "gur" (raw sugar). Certain seasonal variations are to be found, in winter there is more consumption of hot food and fish and eggs, while in summer the consumption of eggs and fish decline and more vegetables and refreshing drink are taken. At most times there is a deficiency of

animal proteins and the calorific value of the average diet is also barely sufficient.

The main regional differences are as follows. In the eastern desert areas difficulties of cultivation produce a great dependence on the hardiest millets such as bajira and then is also associated with the prevalent pastoralism a high consumption of milk and butter. The dried seeds of melon and grass seeds are used as a food reserve in those areas of Tharparkar most remote from the rest of Sind. In the barrage area specially in Hala wheat Chapatis make up the normal day time food while in the evening rice and milk is consumed. In some parts of Dadu rice is the staple food; sweet meats which are universally eaten have various regional forms such as Karachi Halwa, Gajar Halwa.

In the countryside the general practice is to take two meals, one in the morning and one in the evening while in the town the conventional western elements of breakfast, lunch and supper have developed in association with regular working hours in offices, factories, etc. There are also associations of particular food stuffs with the many festivals and ceremonies of a socio-religious kind.

Water supply varies immensely in quantity and quality from the Kacho areas where people rely on small dams and tanks to store water from ephemeral torrents, through the villages of the plains and canals, to the engineered supply of the cities such as Hyderabad, Nawabshah and Karachi.

In conclusion one should note the use of stimulants and drugs. Cigarettes and rolled tobacco leaf "biris" are very heavily used.

Traditionally the use of opium and opium derivatives is common and normal in the desert areas. Opium is associated with ritual ceremonies, again mainly in the desert areas, but is also used as an element of a diet, believed to have some medical properties for easing mental and physical strength. Very rarely is it taken to produce ecstatic or hallucinatory feelings. Intoxicatizomary beverages of western kind are mainly consumed by some urban families and also in some rich landowning families.

In general then we can say there are no outstanding regional characteristics in the Sindi diet but the strength of Islam and the presence of Hindus produces a slight dichotomy, the strength of mysticism and rituals tend to give special values to some elements of consumption, and, lastly, the growth of urbanization is producing a more cosmopolitan diet to the towns.

Plate 15

CHAPTER VII G

Recreation

In recreation and entertainments one can distinguish between physical games and cultural entertainments. As in many parts of the world there are ~~elements~~ sports such as wrestling, sporting fights, horse racing and shooting. These contests of strength and skill have a particular traditional regional form. The Malakharo for instance is a special form of wrestling similar to Roman wrestling. Each contestant will tuck up his Salwar baggy trousers) in at the waist and a twisted cloth is fastened like a belt around the waist. Each tries to bring his opponent down by gripping the belt. Many different named tactics and throws are known to every one.

Much more closely associated with Sindi culture and even responsible in parts for its survival are the entertainments of music, (instrumental and singing) and of dancing.

The traditional instruments are typical in form. The Murli is a type of flute (which is essentially an instrument of the snake charmer), "Chung" a jaw harp, and "Narr" (a musical instrument peculiar to caravans). When a caravan stays over night in the desert, the camel drivers play this instrument.

The "Sitar", is common to the whole of India and Pakistan, is found in a special form in Sind. These and other related instruments are used to accompany traditionally and universally known songs and tunes.

The songs have their own special varieties. The

"Madad" are songs of praise used on an occasion when an individual is commemorated or praised. "Marsiah" is the type of song used to commemorate death while "Malud" and "Munajat" are typically religious in character.

"Doherha" is a reflective song linked with the themes of love and prayers and songs of home spun philosophy. The "Wai" has the same vocabulary and is lyrical. The instrument normally used with it is the Ek-tara (a typical stringed instrument for playing one note).

Sindi songs are very closely associated with the human themes of love and separation and with the realities of country life (see Appendix 13). Many of these are really established in the folklore and passed on in oral traditions.

In the cases of dances there is more regional variety and while many of the dances such as the stick dance "Gabra" are danced by men there are also in Sind women's dances which are very popular such as "Jhoomer".

At the moment there is a great wealth of traditional entertainment of the active participation kind.

In a society of rural villages and hamlets in which endogamy and kinship have always strengthened the group identities which are also encouraged by subsistence orientated economies then each community developed active recreational expressions of its own culture within the totality of Sindi culture.

From observation and interview the writer has come across the craft songs concerned with details of particular ways of living as well as more literary and historical subjects. Tharparkar alone has some 30 typical regional songs. Their significance cannot be exaggerated since they represent a vivid picture of traditional values and history and a reflection of physical environment. In them are unified all the mysticism, struggles for survival and the coherent identity of the people.

Now radio and cinema make recreation more passive and many older people report a dying, a loss of the traditional cultural entertainments.

Here again it is too early to tell whether there will be a nett loss or whether, as some of the newer folksongs suggest, there is being formed a new culture with new manifestations.

CHAPTER VII G

Appendix 13

Samples of some typical songs of Sind.

Belanrh - This song is associated with north-western Kohistan. When the nights are starry shepherds sing it. Its typical rustic characteristic is quite obvious.

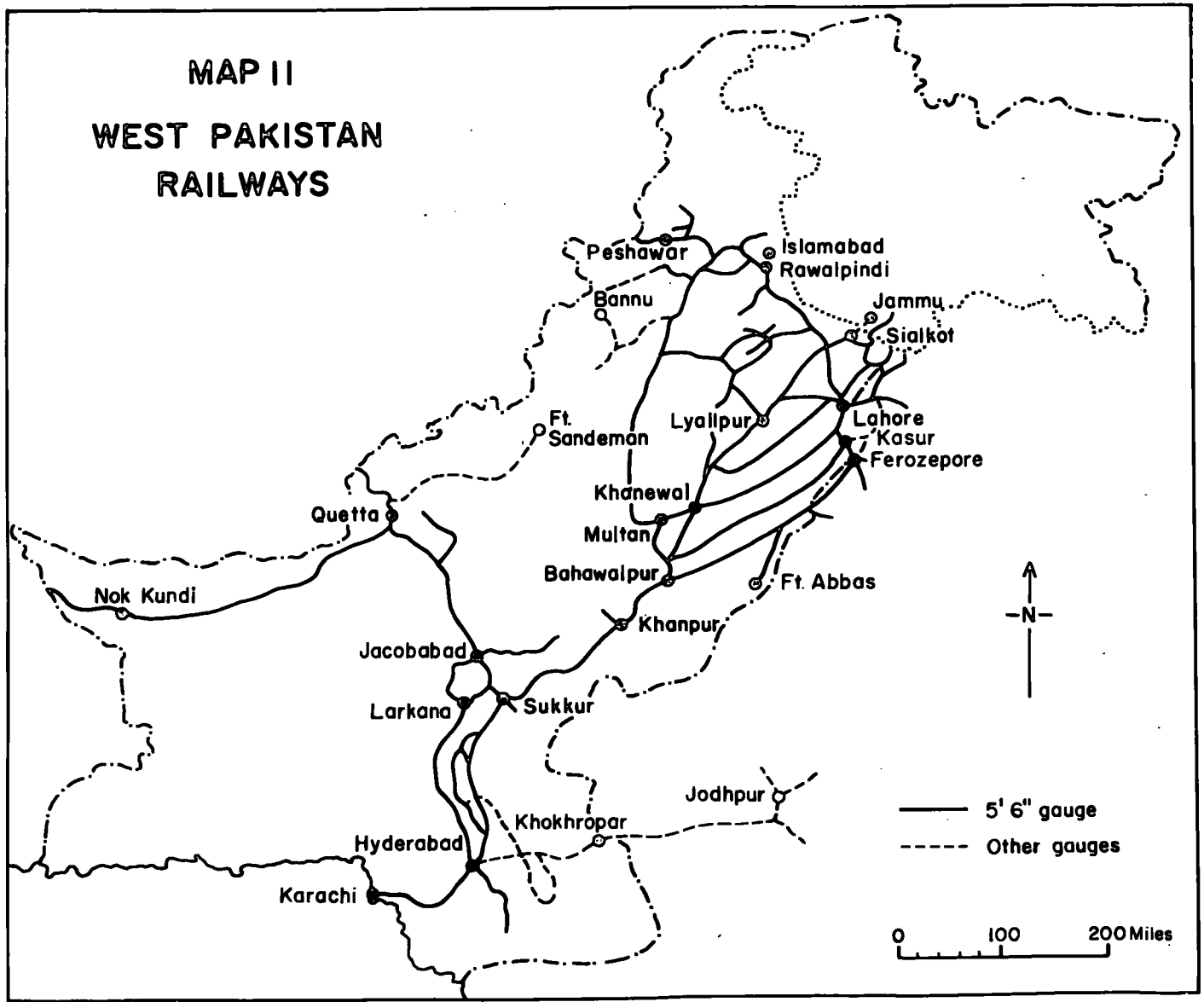
"The jackals are howling across the dark stream;
My love is a peacock, in beauty supreme
The forest of myrtles spreads up to the brink;
The love of my girl is like heavenly drink
The smoke of the pain and flame of the passion,
We bear, and shall get what we want, in some fashion".

A children's song which explains some realities of the village life.

"Come south wind, blow;
Make the mosquitoes to go.
The wind comes singing merrily,
She ties her horse to the berry tree.
A fine storm is on,
The horrid mosquitoes are gone".

Source - Pakistan Quarterly Vol. IX, No. 1, Karachi 1959.

Plate 16


MAP II
WEST PAKISTAN
RAILWAYS
Peshawar
Islamabad
Rawalpindi
Bannu
Jammu
Sialkot
Ft.
Sandeman
Lyallpur
Lahore
Kasur
Ferozepore
Khanewal
Quetta
Multan
Bahawalpur
Ft. Abbas
Nok Kundi
Khanpur
Jacobabad
Larkana
Sukkur
Jodhpur
Khokhropar
Hyderabad
Karachi
N
5' 6" gauge
Other gauges
0
100
200 Miles

CHAPTER VII H

Communications

In Chapter I we noted that the regime of flow of the Indus is not encouraging for the growth of river transport but there has been for centuries a certain amount of use made of the river by small craft. During the British period this developed into a steamer service as the demand for freight traffic increased. Larkana, Nawabshah, Sukkur, Rorhi and Kotri are connected by river steamers as well as by small indigenous craft, and there are steam ferry services at these points.

Nevertheless the Indus river is by no means an arterial line of communication. The delta area is both difficult to penetrate and as in itself a negative area. To the north of Sind the Indus barrages and the diversion of water for irrigation have all lessened the value of the river for transport.

Away from the river land transport has only partially changed from the animal transport which has been dominant for millenia.

The first significant change came with the building of the railway. By 1878 a small network had been built to serve the Indus plain towns. This was connected with Punjab and by 1930 the system that now exists was virtually complete (see Map 11). The main arterial line runs from Karachi via Khairpur and Hyderabad to Peshawar. Secondly there is the main line from Karachi through Kotri, Dadu, and Jacobabad, over the Bolan pass to Quetta. From the first of these in particular feeder branch lines serve Central Sind. There are in addition various metergauge lines.

Plate 17

In Sind as in the whole of imperial India these rail roads were of military and administrative use and while they were an expression of growing need for freight services they also brought into being new productive resources. From the social point of view however while they are very heavily used for passenger traffic the increased human mobility has had little effect in breaking down the ethnic and social distinctiveness of various human groups.

The development of road transport has also had only a minor direct effect on society. It is now true that there is no absolute isolation of any village and mobility has been increased. It is in the field of new economic opportunities which theoretically at least are now available to Sindi villagers that the possibility of change is greatest. Apart however from the possibility that individuals now find it easier, physically to migrate to urban centres, all depends on whether the village dominated structure of Sind is able to respond to the new theoretical opportunities.

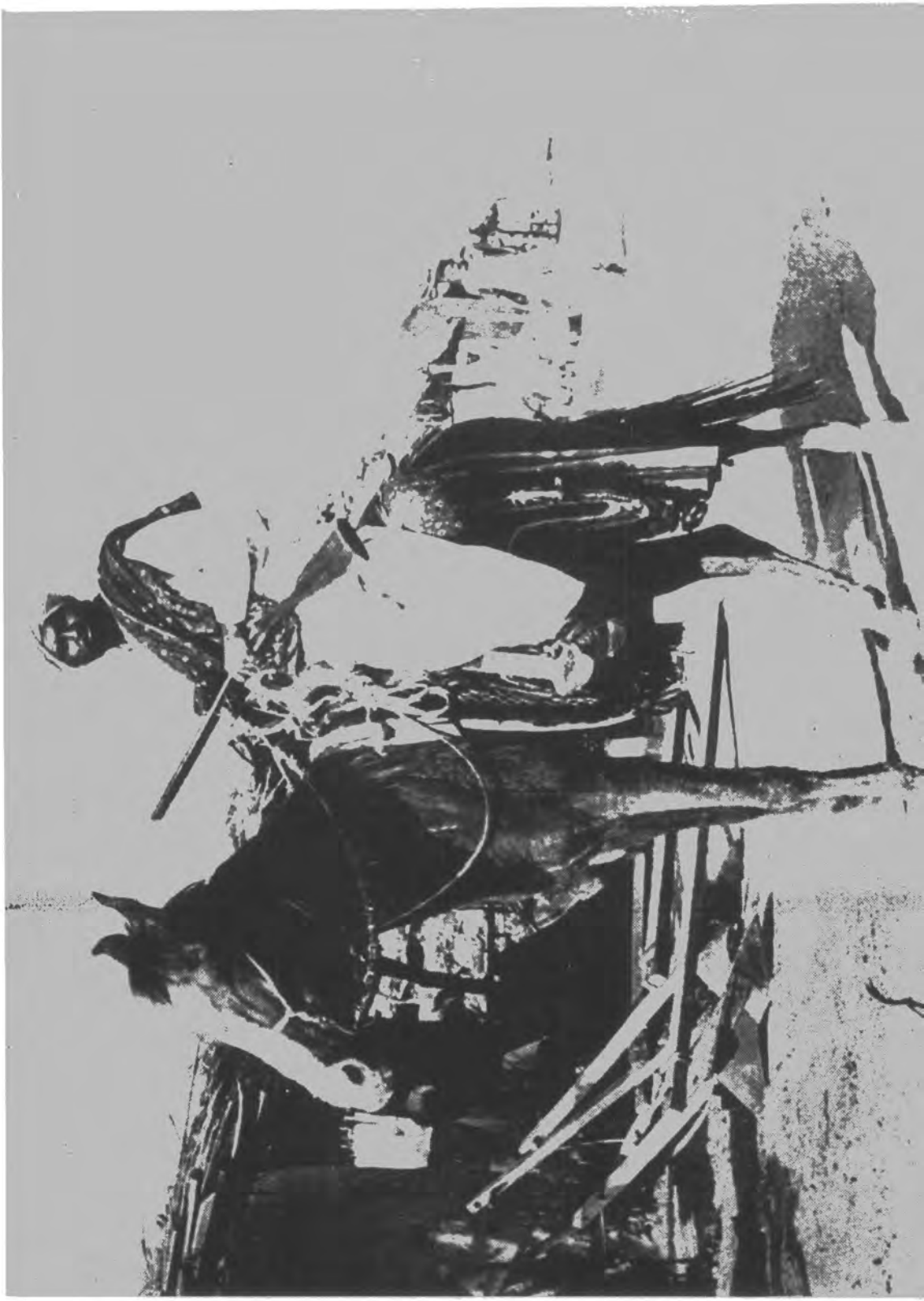
In Chapter V we noted that excluding Karachi there are 44 Sindi settlements with populations over 5,000 and more than 5,000 smaller rural settlements. These rural villages are still associated with subsistence orientated agriculture. In such a society as was discussed in Chapter VI D everything tends to encourage dependence on family, lineage, and ethnic solidarities. This accent on group solidarity produces a need for family and community responsibility and authority. In such a peasant society there can be only limited freedom for the individual. Therefore the impact of improved transport and communications can only directly affect the peripheral characteristics

by for instance encouraging slight changes in material consumption. Larger scale effects can only follow if the low income peasant society becomes considerably changed and this movement away from subsistence is for the bulk of the population clearly impossible at the moment.

The need for improved land transport even although the subsistence element is strong is however still considerable. In order to transport food stuffs and raw materials as well as for increasing the availability of education and health facilities road building programmes are being implemented.

For example in the Guddu barrage region there was formulated a scheme to link the Talukas (see Chapter III) with regional towns. This has also involved the completion of 57 miles of all -weather roads (Pacca) and 30 miles of village roads, the total scheme costing 22 lakh rupees. Similarly in Dadu district 27 thousand rupees are being spent on secondary net-works. There remains however in Sind a problem of balance concerning the adequacy of communication. In the village areas the demand generated by individual farmers is small and even the group demand by villages is relatively low ~~this~~ because of the strength of the subsistence element. Increasing intensity of production and the increase in commercially available agricultural products are essential to Pakistan development plans, but they can not develop while inadequacies of communications exist. In general animal transport is still dominant and camels, horses and bullock carts are the most common vehicles. In some sub-regions this is likely to continue because of environmental characteristics.

Plate 18



In the Tharparkar desert areas draft and pack animals are an integral part of pastoral and semi-nomadic life and not only are roads difficult to construct in the sand desert areas but it must also be remembered that this is a frontier zone with India as well as being part of a large inhospitable area extending on both sides of the frontier. Given the present state of tension between India and Pakistan, local environmental difficulties and local socio-economic adaptation then the building of improved communications is unlikely. There remain the camel trails of Islamkot, Chor and Nagar Parkar.

In the hill lands of Kohistan aridity and rough terrain reduce the carrying capacity of land and also make difficult and expensive road building. The main development of communications has therefore been associated with the need for through routes connecting Karachi and low-land Sind with the Quetta region. Local transport is sparse and suited to hill tracts between the very dispersed small centres of population. The Indus delta is for different reasons (see Chapter I) almost equally negative and difficult to traverse. Land routes are almost entirely short stretches of village track between the marshes and distributory channels. There remains the Indus low-land sub-region in which as already noted are located the main areas of cultivation and centres of settlement.

Withinthis sub-region there are various forms of land transport and a variety of road and track types. Given the nature of agriculture which as already noted is mainly subsistence orientated,

communications must be suitable for the movement of many relatively small loads of agricultural products and consumer goods as well as for the dense local net works of movements of people. For this type of transport of goods then as in other peasant area one finds an emphasis on low cost, small unit transport, a demand which is best met by using working animals also as draft and pack animals.

The nature of social and economic organisation of rural Sind clearly influences the movement of people. The close links between families and classificatory relatives and the importance of periodic ceremonial occasions for family gatherings such as weddings, funerals, religious festivities etc., all produce a very large volume of movements of people not only over short inter-village distances but also over a very long range. All observers have noted with surprise that in many parts of Asia traditional society is associated with on the one hand very strong attachments to home territory and on the other hand a very strong propensity to long distance travels. The inter-meshing of routes of all descriptions is therefore very considerable and virtually the whole population is concerned.

It is therefore becomes very difficult to distinguish between social, economic and cultural reasons for physical communication.

A landlord whether living in a town or in the country-side will visit his lands and the tenant villager will have to periodically, sometimes frequently, have to call on the landlord. Not only are such contacts

economically necessary but the landlord, better informed and often possessing Sindi newspapers and magazines, becomes a centre for obtaining information and for obtaining discussion. Verbal discussion is of course essential when there is a low level of literacy and if other means of communication are lacking rural families will keep close links with and pay frequent visits to urban relatives, this again mainly by physical visits and this is another essential part of the spread of information and opinion. Therefore meetings of Panchayat, meetings of relatives, meetings with landlords and visits to markets and fairs produce physical movements and verbal inter-communication. The changes which are now observable are of course great. The radio has become a mass medium of communication particularly with the development of battery powered transistor radio sets.

Hyderabad city is the main transmitting station sending out programmes in Sindi, Urdu and English. Sindi programmes are in part a reflection of a linguistic need but also are a force for helping the survival of regional culture. Karachi by contrast serves more cosmopolitan and national demands and this reflects and reinforces its essentially non Sindi character.

The growth in importance of the Press as expressed through newspapers has been a long and continuous process starting in the nineteenth century.

With the appearance of the independent state of Pakistan there has been the development of a national

as well as a regional press. In Sind the strength of regional individuality is shown by the number of newspapers and periodicals which are printed in the Sindi language. Actual numbers of daily and weekly periodicals and newspapers cannot be accurately stated for reasons given below. According to the Census 1961 some figures are given for Sindi periodicals and newspapers.

Khairpur	1
Jacobabad	3
Hyderabad	14

The total figures of all language papers on a division basis show 45 newspapers and periodicals in Hyderabad division and 38 in Khairpur division.

The life of some of these papers is short and names and ownership can change rapidly. There is a continually changing flood coming out of the printing presses. The newspapers "Insan", "Musalman" and "Islam" appear more permanent feature of the Sindi language press, while the "Sindhi Times", although published in English, represents the region and culture. While the greatest impact is necessarily in the urban communities there is surprisingly great demand also in some rural villages. The mechanics of distribution is very complicated but from the railway station papers are collected and distributed like any other consumer commodity finally finding their way to all but the most remote places. Possibly the most important aspect of the growth of radio and press communication has been on verbal discussion. In traditional Sind this includes all but the most specialized professional groups. Verbal discussion

and arguments are still very popular and now such discussion has more information to feed it.

In general transport and communications have had opposite influences on Sindi society. On one hand local isolation has been lessened and therefore the strength of regional individuality weakened. On the other hand literacy together with the radio have made it possible for the regional Sindi culture to be consciously stressed and emphasised. Whether the final balance will swing towards cosmopolitism or a new type of regional identity we do not yet know.

Conclusion

Any region is a compound of its physical and social features and the impact of social change and technological development is also relevant. In Sind the relationship between the people and their ecological surroundings is very intimate and to a great extent these factors have produced the characteristic aspects of Sindi life. As stated in the Introduction the emphasis in this thesis has been on the social characteristics of a people who still maintain, over the major part of Sind, a continuity of traditional life. This life is rooted in subsistence orientated agriculture which has kept the great bulk of the population in a close and direct relationship with the land in which they live and has stressed the importance of dependence on direct local experience. Sind has many diversities, Sind is rich, Sind is poor, Sind is modern, Sind is traditional.

The people of the desert and the inhabitants of the hill tracts have had to adopt their ways of life to match physical environments which remain largely unmodified by man except for ecological deterioration. In these areas population is sparse, and dependence on poor rainfall and soils ~~while living in difficult~~, and the accord dissected terrain ~~is responsible~~ for the poverty of the people. In contrast, the relative prosperity of the alluvial lowlands results from the partial adaptation of elements in the physical environment, above all by irrigation, so that a more productive relationship between society and the land could be developed, and this process has affected the social organisation of the communities concerned.

Predominantly the agricultural population of Sind has in all regions evolved over many years a tightly knit social complex in which are integrated, for example, methods of cultivation, religion, recreation, family and kinship structures etc. Equally, the form and location of dwellings and settlements represent a product of social and economic forces within this particular physical environment in its sub-types and seasonal changes. The inadequacy of communications which is to a certain extent due to the physical difficulties of Sind hampers economic and social development of the region and its people. It also makes the region and the communities rather distinct relatively to other areas, if only in their relative isolation and because of the human effects of this relative isolation.

Economic stratification is a notable element of Sindi society which gives rise to a certain amount of diversity in the social structure. As a result of this communities differ in detail in their familial organisation, dresses, foods, recreations, etc.

On the whole Sind has its own way of life which is the same in most of its features and it has its own typical distinctiveness. The family is the fundamental factor in the social and economic aspects of Sind. In that organisation the man is traditionally supreme and women is the secondary part of the organisation. The social matrix of the society is governed by a rural organisation of justice.

In any brief summing up then many of the points made suggest that Sindi social life is similar in many ways to that of Pakistan as a whole, to Islamic society as a whole and even to other peasant societies.

In the thesis what has been stressed is that while there are those general structural and institutional similarities, the Sindi manifestations of general social adaptations characteristics of Islamic and Pakistani peasant needs are distinct and clear. These may appear in details such as dress etc., but also more deeply in the whole complex of language, endogamy, rural predominance, etc., which make up the unit which we know as Sind, which has survived as a recognised unit for centuries ~~at least~~ and ~~which~~ shows every sign of continued survival ~~strength.~~

In Pakistan the regions not only differ in their cultural aspects but the difference in economic and physical aspect also exists. Sind region and Punjab region, Pathan region have various characteristics. The new element of urbanization is to be found both in Punjab and Sind but in the former it is much more advanced than in the latter. The Punjab is also much richer in geographical and economic potentialities which has been further exploited by a greater range of cultural groups. Sind is distinct and has always been distinct, a distinctiveness in Sind which is not only in the old cultural values and tradition but also in the form of transitional stage through which Sind is passing.

Industrialization, education and other technological developments and the new set up of the establishment of social life in urban areas are attracting traditional man away from tradition. The authority of the family is being eroded and the decentralised nature of the rural life is replaced by central authority based on large towns. There is every possible danger to the long surviving traditional unity of Sind. The old values gradually are losing their force and the new

trends are giving ~~strength~~ rise? to ~~the~~ urban uniformity.

In such changing situation the traditional Sind and traditional man of Sind may lose their old identity. Now the question still remains will the traditional ~~man~~ linger on with its old cultural values or will a new identity emerge, a new identity which in turn will remain Sindi rather than Pakistani and "Western".

Bibliography

Ali, S.A. - Sindhi Folksongs, Pakistan Quarterly Vol.IX, Karachi 1959

Ahmad, K.S. - A Geography of Pakistan, Oxford University Press, Karachi 1966

Chatterji, Suniti, K. - Languages and the Linguistic Problem, Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs, No.11, Oxford Press, 1943

Census of Pakistan Vol. 3, 1961

Dawn (Karachi) May 9, 1959

Dudley Stamp, L. - Asia, Methuen 1957

Encyclopaedia Brittanica Vol. 2, Vol. 12, Vol. 20

Honigmann, John J. - Education and Career Specialization in a West Pakistan Village of Renown, Anthropos Vol. 55, 1960

Hutton J.H. - Caste in India, Cambridge University Press 1946

Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol. XXII, Oxford Carlendon Press 1908

Jang (Karachi) 8th August, 1967

Jang (Karachi) 12th August, 1967

Jones, Emrys - Towns and Cities, Oxford University Press 1966, 1967

Kapadia K.M. - Marriage and Family in India, 2nd edition Indian Branch Oxford University Press, 1958

Karve, I.-Kinship Organisation in India, 1st edition, Asia Publishing House, New Delhi 1965

Khan, M. - Geographical Aspects of Aridity in West Pakistan, Ph.D. Thesis, Durham 1961

Khan, Mohammad N. - Rural Settlement Patterns and House Types in Sind, Oriental Geographer (1957)

Khan, F.A. - Before Mohenjo Daro: New Light on the Beginning of the Indus Valley Civilisation from Recent Excavation at Kot Diji, The Illustrated London News: May 24 (1958)

Laird, W.P. - Collective Farming in Russia, Columbia 1958

Lambrick, H.T. - Sind - A General Introduction, 1st edition, Sindhi, Adabi Board, Hyderabad 1964

Lambton, A.K.S. - Landlord and Peasent in Persia (Oxford 1953)

Majumdar, R.C. and Datta, K. - An Advance History of India, New York, St. Martins 1958

Majumdar and Pusalkar, A.S. - The History and Culture of Indian People, Vol.I, 1961

Malinowski, B. - Sex, Culture and Myth, Rupert Hart Davis, London 1963

Mookerji, R.K. - Ancient India, Indian Press, Allahabad 1956

Noorani - The Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, Pakistan Publishing House, 1962

Pakistan Economic Survey 1965-66 Table No.4

Pithawalla, M.B. - An Introduction to Sind, Sindhi Adabi Board, Karachi 1951

Pithawalla, M.B. - A physical and Economic Geography of Sind, Sindhi Adabi Board Karachi 1959

Pithawalla, M.B. - A Geographical Analysis of Lower Indus Valley, Karachi 1938

Parry, J.H. - The Audiencia of New Galica (Cambridge 1948)

Piggott - Some Ancient Cities of India (1945)

Rehman, M. - Rural Settlement in Sind, Geografia Vol.III, Journal Pakistan Institute of Geography, Karachi 1964

Report on a Reconnaissance Survey of Land forms, Soils and Present Land Use of the Indus Plains, West Pakistan, Quebec, 1958

Spate, O.H.K. - India and Pakistan, Methuen 1964

Sir G.R. Grierson, The Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.VIII, Part 1

Stirling, Paul, Social Ranking in a Turkish Village (British Journal of Sociology) Vol.4 1953

Second Five Year Plan 1960-1965. Government of Pakistan Planning Commission 1960

Tayyeb, A. - Pakistan: A Political Geography, Oxford University Press, Toronto 1960

Unesco - History of Land Use in Arid Regions, Arid Zone Research Paper, No.XVII 1961

U.N.D.P., Pre-Investment Surveys of the Antalya Region, FAo/SF: 14 TUR, 1966

Williamson, G. (1947) The Tharparkar or Thari breed of cattle. Definition of Characteristics, Indian Farming, Vol.8, Delhi, India

Wilber, D.N. - Pakistan, its people, its society its culture, New Haven, Conn., H.R.A.F. 1964

Zebu Cattle of India and Pakistan, FOA Italy, 1953